

LETTERS

OF THE EARL OF

SHAFTESBURY,

(Cooper) K

AUTHOR OF THE

CHARACTERISTICS,

COLLECTED INTO ONE VOLUME.

PRINTED MDCCL.



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LETTERS
OF THE EARL OF
SHAFTESBURY
TO A
STUDENT
AT THE
UNIVERSITY.

PRINTED FIRST IN THE YEAR MDCCXVI.

LETTER

OF THE

SHARPLESS

TO

STUDENTS

AT

UNIVERSITY

PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

(I)

LETTER I.

Feb. 24th, 1706-7.

I ACCEPT kindly the offer of your correspondence, and chiefly, as it comes from you with heartiness, and (the best of characters) SIMPLICITY. When this disposition of heart attends our searches into learning and philosophy ; we need not fear being *vainly puff'd up*, or falling into that false way of wisdom, which the scripture calls *vain philosophy*. When the improvement of our minds, and the advancement of our reason, is all we aim at ; and this only to fit us for a perfecter, more rational, and worthier service of GOD ; we can have no scruples, whether or no the work be an acceptable one to him. But where neither our duty to mankind, nor obedience to our CREATOR, is any way the end or object of our studies or exercises ; be they ever so curious or exquisite, they may be justly stiled

A *vain ;*

vain ; and often the vainer, for carrying with them the false shew of excellence and superiority.

On this account, tho' there be no part of learning more advantageous even towards divinity, than logicks, metaphysicks, and what we call *university-learning* ; yet nothing proves more dangerous to young minds un-forewarn'd, or, what is worse, prepossess'd, with the excellency of such learning ; as if all wisdom lay in the solution of those riddles of the school-men, who, in the last ages of the church, found out an effectual way to destroy religion by philosophy, and render reason and philosophy ridiculous, under that garb they had put on it. If your circumstances or condition suffer you to enter into the world by a university ; well is it for you, that you have prevented such prepossession.

However, I am not sorry, that I lent you Mr. Lock's *essay of humane understanding* ; which may as well qualify for business and the world, as for the sciences and a university.

sity. No one has done more towards the recalling of philosophy from barbarity, into use and practice of the world, and into the company of the better and politer sort ; who might well be ashamed of it in its other dress. No one has opened a better or clearer way to *reasoning*. And above all, I wonder to hear him censured so much by any church of ENGLAND-men, for advancing reason, and bringing the use of it so much into religion ; when it is by this only that we fight against the *enthusiasts*, and repel the great enemies of our church. 'Tis by this weapon alone that we combat those *visionaries*, who in the last age broke in so foully upon us, and are now (pretendedly at least) esteemed so terrible and *dangerous*.

But tho' I am one of those, who in these truly happy times esteem our church as wholly *out of danger* ; yet should we hearken to those men, who disclaim this use of reason in religion, we must lay ourselves open afresh to all phanaticks. For what else is PHANATICISM ? Where does the stress

of their cause lie ? Are not their unintelligible motions of the spirit ; their unexpressible pretended feelings, apprehensions, and lights within ; their inspirations in prophecy, extempore prayer, preaching, &c. are not these, I say, the foundations, on which they build their cause ? Are not our *cold dead reasonings*, (as they call them,) a reproach and stumbling-block to them ; if you will believe their leaders, who are instantly cut off from all their pretences to gifts and spirits, and supernatural graces ; if they are once brought to the test of cool reason and deliberate examination ? And can we thus give up our cause, by giving up reason ? Shall we give them up our TILLOTSONS, our BARROWS, our CHILLINGWORTHS, our HAMMONDS ? For what less is it to give up this way of reason so much decry'd by those condemners of Mr. LOCKE ? But such is the spirit of some men in controversial matters. A certain noted clergy-man of learning and ability, and great reputed zeal, a great enemy of master LOCKE, has (as I am lately told) turn'd rigid *Calvinist*, as to all the points of
Pre-

Predestination, Free-grace, &c. and not only this clergy-man, but several more in the university of that *high party*, who ran as high in opposition to CALVINISM but one reign or two since. The reason of this is but too obvious. Our bishops and dignify'd church-men, (the most worthily and justly dignify'd of any in any age,) are, as they ever were, inclinable to moderation in the high *calvinistick* points. But they are also inclinable to moderation in other points.

Hinc illae lacrymae.

They are for toleration, *inviolable toleration*; (as our QUEEN nobly and *Christianly* said it, in her speech a year or two since :) and this is itself intolerable with our high gentlemen, who despise the gentleness of their lord and master, and the sweet mild government of our QUEEN, preferring rather that abominable blasphemous representative of church power, attended with the worst of temporal governments, as we see it in perfection of each kind in FRANCE. From this,

and from its abettors of every kind and in every way, I pray God deliver us, whilst we are duly thankful for what in his providence he has already done towards it, and to the happiness and glory of our excellent QUEEN and country. So farewell. I am your good friend to serve you,

S*****.

LETTER II.

May 10th, 1707.

SINCE your disposition inclines you so strongly towards university-learning; and your sound exercise of your reason, and the integrity of your heart, give good assurance against the narrow principles, and contagious manner of those corrupted places, whence all noble and *free* principles ought rather to be propagated; I shall not be wanting to you on my part; when I shall see the fruit of your studies, life, and conversation, answerable to those good seeds of principles you seem to carry in you.

I am glad to find your love of reason and *free thought*. Your piety and virtue, I know, you will always keep; especially since your desires and natural inclinations are towards so serious a station in life, which others undertake too slightly, and without examining their hearts.

Pray God direct you, and confirm your good beginnings, and in the practice of *virtue* and *religion*; assuring yourself, that the highest principle, which is *the love of God*, is best attained not by dark speculations and *monkish philosophy*, but by moral practice, and love of mankind, and a study of their interests: the chief of which, and that which only raises them above the degree of brutes, is *freedom of reason* in the learned world, and good government and *liberty* in the civil world. Tyranny in one is ever accompanied, or soon followed, by tyranny in the other. And when slavery is brought upon a people, they are soon reduced to that base and brutal state, both in their understandings and morals.

True zeal therefore for God, or religion, must be supported by real love for mankind : and love of mankind cannot consist but with a right knowledge of man's great interests, and of the only way and means, (that of liberty and freedom,) which God and nature has made necessary and essential to his manly dignity and character. They therefore, who betray these principles, and the rights of mankind, betray religion, even so as to make it an instrument against itself.

But I must have done, and am your good friend to serve you,

S*****.

LETTER III.

November 19th, 1707.

TRULY, if your heart correspond intirely with your pen ; and if you thoroughly feel those good principles you have express'd ; I cannot but have a great increase of kindness and esteem for you.

Imagine

Imagine not, that I suspect you of so mean a thing, as hypocrisy or affected virtue: I am fully satisfied you mean and intend what you write. But alas ! the misfortune of *youth*, and not of youth merely, but of humane nature, is such, that it is a thousand times easier to frame the highest ideas of virtue and goodness, than to practise the least part. And perhaps this is one of the chief reasons, why virtue is so ill practised ; because the impressions, which seem so strong at first, are too far rely'd on. We are apt to think, that what appears so fair, and strikes us so forcibly, at the first view, will surely hold with us. We launch forth into *speculation* ; and after a time, when we look back, and see how slowly *practice* comes up to it ; we are the sooner led to despondency, the higher we had carried our views before.

Remember, therefore, to restrain yourself within due bounds ; and to adapt your contemplation to what you are capable of practising. For there is a sort of *spiritual ambition* : and
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in reading those truly divine authors, whom you have sometimes cited to me, I have observ'd many to have miscarried by too fervent and eager a pursuit of such perfection.

Glad I am, however, that you are not one of those dull souls, that are incapable of any spiritual refinement. I rejoice to see you raise yourself above the rank of sordid and sensual spirits, who, tho' set apart and destin'd to *spirituals*, understand not, that there is any thing preparatory to it, beyond a little scholarship and knowledge of *forms*. I rejoice to see, that you think of other preparations, and another discipline of the heart and mind, than what is thought of amongst that indolent and supine race of men.

You are sensible, I perceive, that there is another sort of study, a profounder meditation, which becomes those, who are to set an example to mankind, and fit themselves to expound and teach those short and summary precepts, and divine laws, deliver'd to us in

positive commands by our *sacred* LEGISLATOR.

'Tis our business, and of all, as many as are raised in knowledge above the poor illiterate and laborious vulgar, to explain, as far as possible, the reasons of those laws; their consent with the law of nature; their suitability to society, and to the peace, happiness, and enjoyment of ourselves. 'Tis there alone that we have need of recourse to *fire and brimstone*, and what other punishments the divine goodness (for our good) has condescended to threaten us with; where the force of these arguments cannot prevail.

Our business within ourselves, is to set ourselves *free*, according to that *perfect law of liberty*, which we are bid to look into. And I am delighted to read these words from you, *viz.* that we are made to contemplate and love God *intire'y* and with a *free* and voluntary love. But this, you well see, is a mystery too deep for those souls, whom you converse with, and see around you. They have scarce
heard

heard of what it is to combat with their appetites and senses. They think themselves sufficiently justified, *as men*; and sufficiently qualified, *as holy men*, and *teachers of RELIGION*; if they can compass matters, by help of circumstances and outward fortune, so as happily to restrain these lusts and appetites of theirs within the bounds of ordinary human laws. Hence *those allurements of external objects* (as you well remark) they are so far from declining, that they rather raise and advance them by all possible means, without fear of adding fuel to their inflam'd desires, in a heart, which can never burn towards GOD, till those other fires are extinct.

GOD grant, that since you know this better way, this chaste and holy discipline, you may still pursue it, with that just and pious jealousy over your own heart, that neither your eyes, nor any of your senses, may be led away to serve themselves, or any thing, but that CREATOR, who made them for his service, and in whom alone is happiness and rest.

I wish you well, and shall be glad to hear still of you.

S*****.

L E T T E R IV.

April 2d, 1708.

I H A V E received yours every week, and am highly satisfied with your thoughts; not doubting but they are truly your own and natural, as well as your manner of expressing them: for in this I would have you keep an intire freedom, and deliver your sentiments still nakedly, and without art or ornament. For it is the *heart* I look for: and tho' the ornaments of style are what you are oblig'd to study and practise on other occasions; the less you regard 'em, and the greater *simplicity* you discover in writing privately to myself, the greater my satisfaction is, and the more becoming the part you have to act.

I was particularly pleas'd with your thoughts and reasonings on CHRISTIAN LIBERTY,
and

and the zeal you shew for that noble principle, by which we cease to be slaves and drudges in religion ; and, by being reconciled to our duty, and to the excellence of those precepts and injunctions, which tend absolutely to our good and happiness in every respect, we become *liberal servants and children of God*.

A mind thus released and set at liberty, if it once sees its real good, will hardly be deprived of it, or disheartn'd in the pursuit, whatever discouragement surrounds it. 'Tis the inward enemy alone can stop it. For when a mind, set free from *voluntary error*, and *self-darkening conceit*, aspires to what is generous and deserving ; nothing, but what is vile and slavish from within, can deaden it : nothing, but a base love of inward slavery, and an adherence to our vices and corruptions, is able to effect this.

In some, who are horridly degenerate, this submission is wholly voluntary. Self-interest leads them ; whether it be a private one of their own ; or in society and confederacy with
some

some *faction* or *party*, to the support of *temporal ends*. In this case it carries a specious shew of *publick good*; whether it be in CHURCH or STATE. And thus it is often the occasion of an open denial of reason, and of a barefac'd opposition to the *glorious search of TRUTH*.

In others 'tis mere sloth and lazyness, or fordid appetite and lust, which bringing them under the power of sin and ignorance, fits them for *political servitude* by *moral prostitution*. For when the tyranny of lust and passion can be indulgently permitted, and even esteem'd a happiness; no wonder if *liberty of thought* be in little esteem. Every thing civil or spiritual of this kind must needs be disregarded, or rather look'd upon with jealousy and apprehension.

For one tyranny supports another: one slavery helps and ministers to another. Vice ministers to superstition; and a gainful mistress she is: superstition, on the other hand, returns the kindness, and will not be ungrateful.

ful. Superstition supports persecution, and persecution superstition.

Vice and intemperance is but an inward persecution. 'Tis here, the violence begins. Here *truth* is first *held in unrighteousness*, and the *reason, the knowable, the intelligible, the divine part* is persecuted and imprison'd. Those, who submit to this tyranny, in time, not only come to like it, but plead for it, and think the law of virtue tyrannical and against nature.

So in the absolute governments of the world : nations, that submit to arbitrary rule, love even their form of government ; if one may call that a *form*, which is without any, and, like vice itself, knows neither law nor order.

In this state the mind helps forward the ill work. For when reason, as an antagonist to vice, is become an inward enemy, and has once lost her interest with the soul, by opposing every *favourite passion* ; she will then be
soon

soon expell'd another province, and lie under suspicion for every attempt she makes upon the mind. She is presently miscall'd and abus'd. She is thought *notional* in the understanding, *whimsical* in company, *seditionous* in the state, *heretical* in the church. Even in philosophy, her own proper dominions, she is look'd upon as none of the best companions : and here also authority is respected as the most convenient guide.

This we find to be the temper of *certain places* ; where wit and sense, however, are not wanting, nor learning of a *certain kind*. So that what is at the bottom of all this, is easily seen by those, who see those places, and can but make use of their eyes, to observe *manners* and *morals*.

'Tis pretty visible indeed, that the original of all is in those fordid vices of sloth, laziness, and intemperance. This makes way for ambition : for how should these be so illustriously maintained and vindicated, without large temporal power, and the umbrage of
 B authority ?

authority ? hence it is, that those *mother vices* are so indulgently treated in those places ; and that temperance and virtue are look'd upon with an evil eye, as *phanatically inclin'd*. For who, that is *morally free*, and has asserted his inward liberty, can see *truth* thus *beld*, reason and ingenuity suppress'd, without some secret abhorrence and detestation ?

But this you are happily appriz'd of ; nor can you miscarry, or be turn'd aside by imposture, or assuming formality and pride of any kind. You know your liberty : use it, and be free. But use it as becomes you ; with all due meekness and submission, as to outward carriage. 'Tis the inward man, that is to be reliev'd and rescu'd from his chains. Others need not your admonition : nor is this your duty ; but far contrary. Preserve yourself from the contagion, and 'tis enough : a great task it is ; and will appear so to you ; if you are hearty in it, and concern'd for *the thing itself*, not the *appearance*. For the inclination towards rebuke, and rectifying of others, which feels like zeal in us, is often the de-

deceit of pride and self-conceit, which finds this way to screen itself, and manage undiscovered.

Keep your virtue and honesty to yourself: for if it be truly such, it will be in no pain for being kept secret. And thus you may be safe, and in due time; perhaps, useful also to others. Learn to discourse and reason with yourself, or, as you honestly do, in letters to me. Trouble not others; nor be provok'd to shew your sentiments, and betray noble and generous truths to such, as can neither bear them, nor those, whom they suspect to be in possession of them.

Mind that, which is the chief of all, *liberty*: and subdue early your own temper and appetites. 'Twill then be time for higher speculations, when those wandring imaginations, vain conceits, and wanton thoughts of youth, are mortify'd and subdu'd. Religion then will have no enemy opposed to her; and, in spite of superstition, and all spiritual tyrannies of the world, will soon be found a joyful task,

the pleasantest of all lives, quite other, than as commonly represented.

Look chiefly to this practice : for this is always permitted you. This you can be employ'd in every hour ; even when books and privacy are deny'd you, and business and attendance requir'd. The more you are a servant in this sense, the more you will partake of that chief liberty, which is learnt by obedience and submission. And thus even they, who perhaps, by their haughtiness and harshness, would render you a slave, and awe you into servile thoughts, will most of all contribute to your *manumission* ; if by their sad example, they teach you (in meekness still and humility) to detest the more their narrow, persecuting, and bitter spirit, supported by their vices ; and shew you evidently that great truth, that *tyranny can never be exercis'd, but by one, who is already a slave.*

Be assured therefore, that where the heart disdains this *original corruption*, the mind will be its friend ; and by delivering it from all
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spiritual

spiritual bondage, will qualify it for a further progress ; rewarding virtue by itself. For *of VIRTUE there can be no REWARD, but of the same kind with itself* : nothing can be super-added to it. And even heaven itself can be no other, than the addition of grace to grace, virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge ; by which we may still more and more comprehend the *chief VIRTUE*, and highest excellence, *the giver and dispenser of ALL* : to whom I commit you ; and pray your studies may be effectual. So farewell.

L E T T E R V.

January 28th, 1708-9.

I WAS that morning thinking with myself what was become of you ; and almost resolv'd to have you inquir'd of at your father's ; when I received your very surprizing letter, which brought so good an account of yourself, and a proof how well you had spent your time, during this your long silence.

'Twas providential, surely, that I should happen once to speak to you of the *Greek* language; when you asked concerning the *foundations of learning*, and the source and fountain of those lights we have, whether in *mortality* or *divinity*. It was not possible for me to answer you deceitfully or slightly. I could not but point out to you where the spring-head lay. But as well as I can remember, I bad you not be discouraged: for by other channels, derived from those fountains, you would be sufficiently supply'd with the knowledge necessary for the solemn character, that lay before you.

You hearkened to me, it seems, with great attention and belief; and did resolve to take no middle way. But little could I have thought, that you dar'd to have made your attempt on the other side, instead of drawing in your forces, and collecting your strength and the remainder of your precious time, for what lay on this hither side. But since God would have it so; so be it: and
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I pray God prosper you in your daring attempt, and .blefs you with true modesty and simplicity in all the other endeavours and practices of your life, as you have had courage and mighty boldness in this one.

And so, indeed, it may naturally happen, by the same good providence ; since at the instant that you began this enterprize, you have fallen into such excellent reading. And if, as you shew by your letter, SIMPLICIUS's *Comment* be your delight ; even that alone is a sufficient earnest of your *soul's* improvement, as well as of your *mind's* ; if such a distinction may well be made : for alas ! all that we call improvement of our minds, in dry and empty speculation ; all learning or whatever else, either in *theology* or other science, which has not a direct tendency to render us *honest*, *milder*, *juster*, and *better*, is far from being justly so called. And even all that philosophy, which is built on the comparision and compounding of *ideas*, complex, implex, reflex, and all that din and noise of metaphysicks ; all that pretended study and science of nature call'd natu-

ral philosophy, *Aristotelean*, *Cartesian*, or whatever else it be; all those high contemplations of stars and spheres and planets; and all the other inquisitive curious parts of learning, are so far from being necessary improvements of the mind, that without the utmost care they serve only to blow it up in conceit and folly, and render men more stiff in their ignorance and vices.

And this brings into my thoughts a small piece of true learning, which I think is generally bound up with SIMPLICIUS and EPICTETUS. 'Tis *the table* (or picture,) of CEBES the *Socratick*, and elder disciple of PLATO. This golden piece I wou'd have you study, and have by heart; the *Greek* too being pure and excellent. And by this picture you will better understand my hint, and know the *true learning* from that, which falsely passes under the name of wisdom and science.

As for the *divine* PLATO, I would not wish you, as yet, to go beyond a dialogue or two; and let those be the *first* and *second* ALCIBIADES.

DES. For now I will direct and assist you all I can, that you may gradually proceed, and not meet with stumbling-blocks in your way, or what, instead of forwarding, may retard you.

Read these pieces again and again. Suspend for a while the reading of *EPICURETUS* : and read of *MARCUS ANTONINUS* only what you perfectly understand. Look into no commentator ; tho' he has two very learned ones, *GATAKER*, and *CASAUBON* : and by no means study or so much as think on any of the passages, that create any difficulty or hesitation : but, as I tell you, keep to the plain and easy passages, which you may mark or write out, and so use on occasion, as you walk or go about. For I reckon you are a good improver of your time, and that you manage every moment to advantage ; else you could never have thus suddenly advanc'd so far as you have done.

But, in this case, you must take care of your health, by moving and using exercise ; which makes me speak of *walking*. For the
mind

mind must suffer, in some sense, when the body does. And students, who are over eager, and neglect this duty, hurt both their health and temper. The latter of which has a sad influence on their minds ; and makes them like ill vessels, for whatever is put into them, tho' of ever so good a kind. For never do we more need a just chearfulness, *good humour*, or alacrity of mind, than when we are contemplating GOD and VIRTUE. So that it may be assign'd as one cause of the austerity and harshness of some men's *divinity*, that in their habit of mind, and by that very morose and sour temper, which they contract with their hard studies, they make the *idea of GOD* so much after the pattern of their own bitter spirit.

But, as I was saying concerning your progress ; 'tis better for you to read in a small compass what is good and excellent, and of easy conception, (without stop or difficulty, as to the speculation) than to read *much* in *many*.

And

And having thus confin'd you, as to *three* of your authors mentioned, and set your bounds ; I proceed to the *fourth*, which is LUCIAN ; with whom, for a very different reason, I would have you also read but here and there. For tho' he is one of the politest of writers of the latter age ; he only has set himself out like the *jay* in the fable, with the spoils of those excellent and divine works by way of *dialogue* ; (which was the way, that anciently all the philosophers wrote in ;) most of which works are now lost and perished : and I fear the true reason why LUCIAN was preserved, instead of any of the other, was because of the envy of the *Christian* church, which soon began to be so corrupt ; and finding this author to be so truly profane, and a scoffer of his own and all religions, they were contented to bear his immorality and dissolute stile and manners, only for the satisfaction of seeing the Heathen religion ridiculed by a Heathen, and the good and pious writers (unjustly styl'd *profane*) most monstrously abus'd by a wretch, who was truly the most profane

profane and impious ; and who, at the same time, even in the pieces that are left of him in the same book, treats both MOSES and our SAVIOUR, and the whole *Christian religion* as contemptibly, as he does his own. Therefore, as his dialogues of his *courtezans* are horridly vicious and licentious, and against all good manners ; and as his dialogues of the *gods* are mere buffoonry, and his abuse of PLATO, SOCRATES, and the rest of those divine Heathens as unjust and wicked, as really they are mean and ridiculous ; I would not by any means have you to learn *Greek* at such a cost. There are some dialogues bound up, which are not of LUCIAN's : and these are the best. One concerning the *Cynicks* (whom he elsewhere so abuses) is of that number, as I take it : and some pleasant treatises there are besides, all in pure *Greek*.

But here is the great and essential matter of the last consequence to our souls and minds, to keep them from the contagion of *pleasure*. And to shew you, that I am not by this an imitator of the severe *ascetick monastick race*
of

of divines, or an admirer of any thing, that looks like *restraint* in knowledge, or learning, or speculation ; consider of this that I am going to say to you ; and carry your reflection as far back, as to that first little glimmering of ingenuity, which shew'd itself in you in your childhood ; I mean the art of painting. Had you been to have made one of those artists of the nobler kind, who paint history, and actions, and nature ; and had you been sent by me into ITALY, or elsewhere, to learn the stile and manner of the great masters ; what advice, think you, should I have given you ? I say, *what advice ?* not as a *Christian*, or *philosopher*, or *man of virtue* ; but merely as a lover of the art ; supposing I had ever been of a very vicious life ; and had had no other end in sending you abroad, than to have procur'd pictures, and have got you a masterly hand in that kind, and to have employ'd it afterwards for my own use, and for the ornament of my house : most certainly my advice must have been this : (and thus any other master or patron of *common sense* would have accosted you :)

“ You

“ You are now going to learn what is ex-
 “ cellent and beautiful in the way of paint-
 “ ing. You will go where there are many
 “ pictures of many different hands, and
 “ quite contrary in their *manner* and *stile*.
 “ You will find many judges of different o-
 “ pinions: and the worst masters, the worst
 “ pieces, the worst stiles and manners, will
 “ have their admirers. How is it you should
 “ form your *relish*? By what means shall
 “ you come to have a right admiration your-
 “ self, and praise and imitate only what is
 “ truly exquisite and good in the kind? If
 “ you follow your sudden fancy and bent; if
 “ you fix your eye on that, which most strikes
 “ and pleases you at the first sight; you will
 “ most certainly never come to have a good
 “ eye at all. You will be led aside, and have
 “ a florid, gay, foolish fancy; and any lewd
 “ tawdry piece of dawbing will make a
 “ stronger impression on you, than the most
 “ majestick chaste piece of the soberest
 “ master; and a FLEMISH, or a FRENCH
 “ *manner*

“ *manner* will more prevail with you, than a
 “ true ITALIAN.

“ How shall we do then in this case?—
 “ Why even thus : (for what way is there
 “ else?) make it a solemn rule to yourself,
 “ to check your own *eye* and fancy, which
 “ naturally leads to *gaiety* ; and turn it
 “ strongly on that, which it cares not at first
 “ to dwell upon. Be sure that you pass by
 “ on every occasion, whatever little idle
 “ piece of a negligent loose kind may be apt
 “ to detain your eye ; and fix yourself upon
 “ the nobler, more masterly, and studied
 “ pieces of such, as were known VIR-
 “ TUOSOS, and admired by all such. If you
 “ find no grace or charm at the first looking ;
 “ look on ; continue to observe all, that
 “ you possibly can : and when you have got
 “ one *glimpse* ; improve it ; copy it ; culti-
 “ vate the *idea* ; and labour, till you have
 “ work’d yourself into a *right* TASTE, and
 “ form’d a relish and understanding of what
 “ is truly beautiful in the kind.”

This

This is what any ordinary master or patron of common good sense would have said to you, upon your enterprize on painting: and this is what I now say to you, on your *great enterprize on KNOWLEDGE and LEARNING*. This is the reason I cry out to you against *pleasure*; to beware of those paths, which lead to a wrong knowledge, a wrong judgment of what is *supremely BEAUTIFUL and GOOD*.

Your endeavour and hope is to know God and goodness, in which alone there is true enjoyment and good. The way to this is not to put out your eyes, or hood-wink yourself, or lie in the dark, expecting to see visions. No, you need not apologize for yourself, (as you do,) for desiring to read ORIGEN, the good *father*, and best of all those they call so. You shall not only, by my consent, read ORIGEN, but even CELSUS himself, who was a *Heathen*, and writ zealously against the *Christians*, whom ORIGEN defends. So far am I from bidding you fly heretical, or Heathen
then

then books, where good manners; honesty; and fair reason shew themselves. But where vice, ill manners, abusive wit, and buffoonry appear; the prejudice is just: pronounce against such authors; fly them, and condemn them.

Preserve yourself, and keep your *eye* and *judgment* clear. But if the eye be not open to all fair and handsome spectacles; how should you learn what is *fair* and *handsome*? You would praise GOD: But how would you praise him? And for what? Know you, as yet, what true excellence is? The *attributes*, as you call them, which you have learnt in your *catechism*, or in the higher schools of the school-men and divines; the attributes, I say, of JUSTICE, GOODNESS, WISDOM, and the like, are they really understood by you? Or do you talk of these by rote? if so; what is this but *giving words* to GOD, not praise, nor honour, nor glory? If the APOSTLE appeals to whatsoever is *lovely*, whatsoever is *honest*, (or comely,) whatsoever is *virtue*, or *praiseworthiness*; how shall we understand his ap-
C peal,

peal, till we have studied? — Or do we know these things from our cradles? For since we were men, we never vouchsaf'd to enquire; but took for granted that we were knowing in the matter: which yet, without philosophy, 'tis impossible we should be: so that when, without philosophy, we make use of these high terms, and praise God in these *philosophical characters*; we may be very good, and pious, and well-meaning; but indeed we are little better than *parrots in devotion*.

To return therefore to the *picture*, and the advice I am to give you in your study of that great and masterly hand, which has drawn all things, and exhibited this great *master-piece of NATURE*, this world or universe. The first thing is, that you prepare and clear your *sight*; that your eye be *simple*, pure, uncorrupted, and ready and fit to receive that light, which is to shine into it. This is done by virtue, meekness, modesty, sincerity. And way being thus made, your resolution standing towards TRUTH, and you being conscious to yourself, that whilst you seek truth,

truth, you cannot offend *the* GOD *of* truth ; be not afraid of viewing *all* and comparing *all*. For without comparifon of the *false* with the *true*, of the *ugly* with the *beauteous*, of the *dark* and *obfcure* with the *bright* and *fhining*, we can meafure nothing, nor apprehend any thing that is excellent. We may be as well *Pagan*, *Heathen*, *Turk*, or any thing else ; if being at CONSTANTINOPLE, ISPAHAN, or wherever the feat of any great empire is, we refuse to look on *Chriftian* authors, or hear their fober apologifts, as being contrary to the hiftory impofed on us, with an utter deftruction and cancelling of all other hiftory or philofophy whatfoever.

But this fear being fet afide, which is fo wholly unworthy of GOD, and fo debafing to his ftandard of reafon, which he has placed in us ; our next concern is to look impartially into all authors, and upon all nations, and into all parts of learning and human life ; to feek and find out the true *pulchrum*, the *honestum*, the καλόν : by which ftandard and meafure we may know GOD ; and know how

to praise him, when we have learnt what is praise-worthy.

Be this your search, and by these means, and by this way I have shewn you. Seek for the καλὸν in every thing, beginning as low as the plants, the fields, or even the common arts of mankind ; to see what is beauteous, and what contrary. Thus, and by the original fountains you are arrived to, you will, under providence, attain beauty and true wisdom for yourself ; being true to virtue : and so God prosper you.

S*****.

L E T T E R VI.

February 8th, 1709.

I COMMEND your honest liberty ; and therefore in the use of it, recommend to you the pursuit of the same thoughts, that you have so honestly and naturally grafted upon the stock afforded you : to which God grant a true life and increase.

Time

Time will be, when your greatest disturbance will arise from that ancient difficulty *πόθεν τὸ κακόν*. But when you have well inur'd yourself to the precepts and speculation, which give the view of its noble contrary (*τὸ καλόν*;) you will rest satisfied. But be persuaded, in the mean time, that wisdom is more from the *heart*, than from the *head*. *Feel* goodness, and you will see all things fair and good.

Let it be your chief endeavour to make acquaintance with what is *good*; that by seeing perfectly, by the help of reason, what *good* is, and what *ill*; you may prove whether that, which is from revelation, be not perfectly good and conformable to this standard. For if so, the very end of the gospel proves its truth. And that, which to the vulgar is only knowable by miracles, and teachable by positive precepts and commands, to the wise and virtuous, is demonstrable by the nature of the thing. So that how can we forbear to give our assent to those doctrines, and that revelation, which is deliver'd to us, and enforced

by miracles and wonders? But to us, the very test and proof of the divineness and truth of that revelation, is from the excellence of the things reveal'd : otherwise the wonders themselves would have little effect or power : nor could they be thorowly depended on, were we even as near to them, as those, who lived more than a thousand years since ; when they were freshly wrought, and strong in the memory of men. This is what alone can justify our easiness of faith ; and in this respect we can never be too resign'd, too willing, or too complaisant.

Mean while let your eye be *simple* ; and turn it from the *αθεον* to the *θειον*. View GOD in goodness, and in his works, which have that character. Dwell with honesty, and beauty, and order : study and love what is of this kind ; and in time you will know and love the AUTHOR. Farewel.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R VII.

May 5th, 1709.

I A M mightily fatisfyed with your writing to me as you do : Pray continue.

I like your judgment and thoughts on the books you mention. The bishop of SALISBURY's exposition of the *articles* is, no doubt, highly worthy of your study. None can better explain the sense of the church, than one, who is the greatest pillar of it since the first founders ; one, who best explain'd and asserted the reformation itself ; was chiefly instrumental in saving it from Popery before and at the revolution ; and is now the truest example of *laborious, primitive, pious, and learned Episcopacy*. The antidote indeed, recommended to you, was very absurd, as you remark yourself ; and pray have little to do with *controversy* of any sort.

CHILLINGWORTH *against Popery* is sufficient reading for you, and will teach you the

best manner of that polemick divinity. 'Tis enough to read what is *good*; and what you find *bad* lay aside. The good you read will be a sufficient prevention and anticipation against any evil, that may chance come a-croſs you imperceptibly. Fill yourself with *good*; and you will carry within you ſufficient answer to the *bad*; and by a ſort of inſtinct ſoon diſcern the one from the other.

Trust your own heart whiſt you keep it honeſt, and can liſt it up to the GOD of truth, as ſeeking that, and *that only*. But keep yourſelf from wrangling, and a controverſial ſpirit: for more harm is taken by a fierce ſour answer to an ill book, than from the book itſelf, be it ever ſo ill. Therefore remember, I charge you, to avoid controverſial writers.

If the *ancients*, in their purity, are as yet out of your reach; ſearch the *moderns*, that are neareſt to them. If you cannot converſe with the moſt antient, uſe the moſt modern. For the authors of the middle age, and all that ſort of philoſophy, as well as divinity, will
be

be of little advantage to you. Gain the purity of the *English*, your own tongue ; and read whatever is esteem'd polite or well writ, that comes abroad. You may give me an account of this.

Mean while I am glad you read those modern divines of our nation, who liv'd in this age, and were remarkable for *moderation*, and the *Christian* principle of *charity* and *toleration*.

Do as your *genius* directs you : and if you are virtuous and good, your genius will guide you right. But whatever it be, either antient or modern, that you chuse or read ; or however you change your opinion or course of study ; communicate, and you shall be heard willingly, and advised the best I am able.

I think your genius has dictated right to you about a little pamphlet ; which, it seems, is commonly sold with the reflections lately writ upon it ; which, if short, I would not for once bebar you from, but have you hear what
is

is said in answer, lest you should seem to yourself mistaken or diffident, as to the truth. For my own part, I cannot but think from my heart, that the author of the pamphlet (whatever air of humour he may give himself, the better to take with the polite world,) is most sincere to virtue and religion, and even to the interest of our church. For many of our modern assertors of toleration have seemed to leave us destitute of what he calls *a publick leading, or ministry*; which notion he treats as mere enthusiasm, or horrid irreligion. For, in truth, religion cannot be left thus to shift for itself, without the care and countenance of the magistrate. But in the remarks, or reflections, I find the answerers are so far from understanding this plain sense of a *leading*, that they think it means only *leading by the nose*. So excellent are these gentlemen at improving ridicule against themselves. They care not who defends religion, or how it is defended, if it be not *in their way*. They cry out upon a deluge of scepticism breaking out and over-whelming us, in this witty knowing age; and yet they will allow no remedy

medy proper in the case, no application to the world in a more genteel, polite, open, and free way. They for their parts (witness Dr. A—y against the good Mr. H—y) have asserted virtue upon baser principles, and more false and destructive by far, than EPICURUS, DEMOCRITUS, ARISTIPPUS, or any of the antient atheists. They have subverted all morality, all grounds of honesty, and supplanted the whole doctrine of our SAVIOUR, under pretence of magnifying his revelation. In philosophy they give up all foundations, all principles of society, and the very best arguments to prove the being of a *Deity*. And, by the way, this pamphlet, which they are so offended at, is so strong on this head, that the author asserts the *Deity* even on the foundations of his *innate idea*, and the power of this notion even over atheists themselves, and by the very concession of EPICURUS and that sect.—But no more now. Continue to inform me of your reading of new books: and GOD be with you.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R VIII.

June 3d, 1709.

I Received yours since your recovery, which I am glad to hear of. The new book you have discovered, and the account of it gave me great satisfaction. Your conjectures of it perhaps are not amiss. Dr. TINDAL's principles, whatever they may be as to church government, are, in respect of philosophy and theology, far wide from the author's of the rhapsody.

In general truly it has happened, that all those they call *free writers* now-a-days, have espoused those principles, which Mr. HOBBS set a foot in this last age. Mr. LOCKE, as much as I honour him on account of other writings (*viz.* on government, policy, trade, coin, education, toleration, &c.) and as well as I knew him, and can answer for his sincerity as a most zealous *Christian* and believer, did however go in the self same tract, and is follow'd

follow'd by the TINDALS, and all the other ingenious free authors of our time.

'Twas Mr. LOCKE, that struck the home blow : for Mr. HOBBS's character and base slavish principles in government took off the poyson of his philosophy. 'Twas Mr. LOCKE that struck at all fundamentals, threw all *order* and *virtue* out of the world, and made the very *ideas* of these (which are the same as those of GOD) *unnatural* ; and without foundation in our minds. *Innate* is a word he poorly plays upon : the right word, tho' less used, is *con-natural*. For what has *birth* or *progress* of the *fœtus* out of the womb to do in this case ? The question is not about the *time* the *ideas* enter'd, or the *moment* that one body came out of the other : but whether the constitution of man be such, that being adult and grown up, at such or such a time, sooner or later, (no matter when) the idea and sense of *order*, *administration*, and a GOD, will not infallibly, inevitably, necessarily spring up in him.

Then

Then comes the credulous Mr. LOCKE, with his *Indian*, barbarian stories of wild nations, that have no such idea, (as travellers, learned authors ! and men of truth ! and great philosophers ! have inform'd him ;) not considering, that this is but *a negative* upon a *hearsay*, and so circumstantiated, that the faith of the *Indian* denyer may be as well question'd, as the veracity or judgment of the relater ; who cannot be supposed to know sufficiently the mysteries and secrets of those barbarians ; whose language they but imperfectly know ; to whom we good *Christians* have by our little mercy given sufficient reason to conceal many secrets from us ; as we know particularly in respect of simples and vegetables : of which tho' we got the *Peruvian* bark, and some other noble remedies ; yet 'tis certain, that through the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, as they have own'd themselves, many secrets in medicinal affairs have been suppress'd.

But Mr. LOCKE, who had more faith, and was more learn'd in modern *wonder-writers*, than in antient philosophy, gave up an argu-
 4 ment

ment for the *Deity*, which CicerO (tho' a profess'd *Sceptick*) would not explode ; and which even the chief of the Atheistick philosophers antiently acknowledg'd, and solv'd only by their *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*.

THUS virtue, according to Mr. Locke, has no other measure, law, or rule, than *fashion* and *custom* : morality, justice, equity, depend only on *law* and *will* : and GOD indeed is a perfect *free agent* in his sense ; that is, *free to any thing, that is however ill* : for if he wills it, it will be made good ; virtue may be vice, and vice virtue in its turn, if he pleases. And thus neither *right* nor *wrong*, *virtue* nor *vice* are any thing in themselves ; nor is there any trace or idea of them *naturally imprinted* on human minds. Experience and our catechism teach us all ! I suppose 'tis something of like kind, which teaches birds their nests, and how to fly the minute they have full feathers. Your THEOCLES, whom you commend so much, laughs at this ; and, as modestly as he can, asks a *Lockist*, whether the idea of *woman* (and what is sought after in

in woman,) be not taught also by some catechism, and dictated to the man. Perhaps if we had no *schools of Venus*, nor such horrid lewd books, or lewd companions ; we might have no understanding of this, till we were taught by our parents : and if the tradition should happen to be lost ; the race of mankind might perish in a sober nation.——This is very poor philosophy. But the gibberish of the schools, for these several centuries, has, in those latter days of liberty, made any contrary philosophy of good relish, and highly favourable with all men of wit ; such as have been emancipated from that egregious form of intellectual bondage. But I see you are on a better scent.——

I can say no more at present : only I would not have you inquire further, as yet, after that book, entituled, an *inquiry* : Because it was an imperfect thing, brought into the world many years since, contrary to the author's design, in his absence beyond sea, and in a disguis'd disorder'd style. It may one day perhaps be set righter ; since other things have
made

made it to be inquired after. Have patience in the mean while, and continue your studies. Dispute with no body on any subject. Keep your remarks to yourself; and cultivate the good maxims and principles you have received. Be humble in all your manners, gesture, and behaviour: for that chiefly suits with the character design'd. God guide you in all true piety, moderation, and virtue. Farewel:

LETTER IX.

December 30, 1709.

I Heartily approv'd your method and design, and continue to do so. Get what you can of the *Greek* language: 'tis the fountain of all; not only of polite learning and philosophy, but of divinity also, as being the language of our *sacred oracles*. For even the old testament is in its best and truest language in the *Septuagint*. All that you can get of leisure

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sure from other exercise and the required school-learning, apply to *Greek*.

The few good books of our divines and *moralists*, which you have discovered by your own sagacity, will serve you both for language and thought.

Dr. MORE's *Enchiridion Ethicum*, is a right good piece of sound morals; tho' the doctor himself, in other *English* pieces, could not abide by it; but made different excursions into other regions, and was perhaps as great an enthusiast, as any of those, whom he wrote against. However, he was a learned and a good man.

Remember my former cautions and recommendations: and endeavour above all things to avoid the conceit and pride, which is almost naturally inherent to the function and calling you are about to undertake. And since we think fit to call it *priesthood*, see that it be of such a kind, as may not make you say or think of yourself in the presence of another,
that

that you are holier than he. 'Tis a solemn part; but see and beware, that the solemnity do not abuse you. And remember, that HE, whom you own to be your *master* and legislator, made no laws relating to civil power, or interfering with it. So that all the preheminance, wealth, or pension, which you receive, or expect to receive, by help of this assum'd character, is from the publick, whence both the authority and profit is derived; and on which it legally depends; all other pretensions of *priests* being Jewish and Heathenish, and in our state seditious, disloyal, and factious; such as is that spirit, which now reigns in our universities, and where the high-church men (as they are call'd) are prevalent. But to this (thank God) our parliament, interposing at this instant, gives a check, by proceeding against Dr. S—L, and advancing Mr. H—Y, of whom I have often spoke to you.

No more now, but God bless your studies and endeavours. Never was more need of a spirit of *moderation* and *Christianity* among those, who are entring on the ministerial

function ; since the contrary spirit has possess'd almost the whole priesthood, beyond all former phanaticks. God send you all true *Christianity*, with that temper, life, and manners, which become it. Farewel.

L E T T E R X.

July 10th, 1710.

I Believ'd indeed, it was your expecting me every day at ****, that prevented your writing, since you received *orders* from the good bishop, my lord of SALISBURY ; who as he has done more, than any man living, for the good and honour of the church of ENGLAND and the reform'd religion ; so he now suffers more than any man from the tongues and slander of those ungrateful *churchmen* ; who may well call themselves by that single term of distinction, having no claim to that of *Christianity* or *Protestant* ; since they have thrown off all the temper of the former, and all concern or interest with the latter.

I hope whatever advice the great and good bishop gave you, will sink deeply into your mind : and that your receiving *orders* from the hands of so worthy a prelate will be one of the circumstances, which may help to insure your steadiness in honesty, good principles, moderation, and true *Christianity* ; which are now set at nought, and at defiance, by the far greater part and numbers of that body of clergy call'd *the church of ENGLAND* ; who no more esteem themselves a Protestant church, or in union with those of Protestant communion ; tho' they pretend to the name of *Christian*, and would have us judge of the *spirit of Christianity* from *theirs* : which GOD prevent ! lest good men should in time forsake *Christianity* through their means.

As for my part of kindness and friendship to you ; I shall be sufficiently recompensed, if you prove (as you have ever promis'd) a virtuous, pious, sober, and studious man, as becomes the solemn charge belonging to you. But you have been brought into the world,

and come into *orders*, in the worst time for insolence, riot, pride, and presumption of clergy-men, that I ever knew, or have read of; tho' I have searched far into the characters of high church-men from the first centuries, in which they grew to be dignify'd with crowns and purple, to the late times of our reformation, and to our present age.

The thorough knowledge you have had of me, and the direction of all my studies and life to the promotion of religion, virtue, and the good of mankind, will (I hope) be of some good example to you: at least it will be a hindrance to your being seduc'd by *infamies* and *calumnies*; such as are thrown upon the men call'd *moderate*, and in their style indifferent in religion, heterodox, and heretical.

I pray God to bless you in your new function with all the true virtue, humility, moderation, and meekness, which becomes it. I am your hearty friend.

S*****.

F I N I S.

L E T T E R S

FROM THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LATE

Earl of *SHAFTESBURY*,

TO

ROBERT MOLESWORTH, Esq;

Afterwards the Lord Viscount of that Name.

WITH

TWO LETTERS written by the late

Sir John Cropley.

Printed in the Year M.D.CC.L.

LETTERS

FROM THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LATE

HAN of S. M. A. T. E. S. B. U. R. T.

TO

ROBERT MOLLERWORTH, Esq.

A New York and London Edition.

WITH

Two Letters written by the late

Sir John Campbell.

Printed in the Year M.D.C.C.L.

LETTER I.

Dear S I R, Chelfey, Sept. 30, 1708.

TWO reasons have made me delay answering yours : I was in hopes of seeing our great lord, and I depended on Mr. *Micklethwayt's* presenting you with my services, and informing you of all matters publick and private. The queen is but just come to *Kensington*, and my * lord to town. He promis'd to send me word, and appoint me a time, when he came. But I shou'd have prevented him, had it been my weather for town-visits. But having ow'd the recovery of my health, to the method I have taken of avoiding the town-smoke ; I am kept at a distance, and like to be remov'd even from hence in a little while : tho' I have a project of staying longer here than my usual time, by removing now and then cross the water, to my friend

Sir

* *The Earl of Godolphin, then lord treasurer.*

Sir *John Cropley's* in *Surrey*, where my riding and airing recruits me. I am highly rejoic'd, as you may believe, that I can find myself able to do a little more publick service, than what of late years I have been confin'd to, in my country : and I own the circumstances of a court were never so inviting to me, as they have been since a late view I have had of the best part of our ministry. It may perhaps have added more of confidence and forwardness in my way of courtship, to be so incapacitated as I am from taking any thing there for myself. But I hope I may convince some persons, that it is possible to serve disinterestedly ; and that obligations already receiv'd (tho' on the account of others) are able to bind as strongly, as the ties of self-interest.

I had resolv'd to stay, till I had one conference more with our * lord before I writ to you : but a letter, which I have this moment receiv'd from Mr. *Micklethwayt*, on his having waited on you in the country, has made me resolve to write thus hastily (without missing

to-

* *The same.*

to-night's post) to acknowledge, in the friendliest and free'st manner, the kind and friendly part you have taken in my private interests. If I have ever endur'd any thing for the publick, or sacrific'd any of my youth, or pleasures, or interests to it, I find it is made up to me in the good opinion of some few: and perhaps one such friendship as yours, may counter-balance all the malice of my worst enemies. 'Tis true, what I once told you I had determin'd with myself, never to think of the continuance of a family, or altering the condition of life that was most agreeable to me, whilst I had (as I thought) a just excuse: but that of late I had yielded to my friends, and allow'd 'em to dispose of me, if they thought that by this means, I cou'd add any thing to the power or interest I had, to serve them or my country. I was afraid however, that I shou'd be so heavy and unactive in this affair, that my friends wou'd hardly take me to be in earnest. But tho' it be so lately, that I have taken my resolution, and that you were one of the first who knew it; I have on a sudden such an affair thrown a-cross me, that

that I am confident I have zeal enough rais'd in me, to hinder you from doubting whether I sincerely intend what I profess. There is a lady, whom chance has thrown into my neighbourhood, and whom I never saw till the *Sunday* before last, who is in every respect that very person, I had ever fram'd a picture of from my imagination, when I wish'd the best for my own happiness in such a circumstance. I had heard her character before, and her education, and every circumstance besides suited exactly, all but her fortune. Had she but a ten thousand pounds, my modesty wou'd allow me to apply without reserve, where it was proper. And I wou'd it were in my power, without injury to the lady, to have her upon those terms, or lower. I flatter myself too by all appearance, that the father has long had, and yet retains, some regard for me ; and that the disappointments he has had in some higher friendships, may make him look as low as on me, and imagine me not wholly unworthy of his relation. But, if by any interest I had, or cou'd possibly make with the father, I shou'd induce him to bestow his daughter,

daughter, perhaps with much less fortune (since I wou'd gladly accept her so) than what in other places he wou'd have bestow'd, I shall draw a double misfortune on the lady ; unless she has goodness enough to think, that one who seeks her for what he counts better than a fortune, may possibly by his worth or virtue make her sufficient amends. And were I but encourag'd to hope or fancy this, I wou'd begin my offers to-morrow ; and shou'd have greater hopes, that my disinterestedness wou'd be of some service to me in this place, as matters stand.

You see my scruple, and being us'd to me, and knowing my odd temper (for I well know you believe it no affectation) you may be able to relieve me, and have the means in your hands : for a few words with one, who has the honour to be your relation, would resolve me in this affair. I cannot stir in it till then, and shou'd be more afraid of my good fortune than my bad, if it shou'd happen to me to prevail with a father, for whom the lady has so true a duty ; that, even *against her inclination,*

inclination, she wou'd comply with any thing he requir'd. I am afraid it will be impossible for you to read, or make sense of, what I write thus hastily : but I fancy with myself, I make you the greater confidence, in trusting to my humour and first thought, without staying till I have so much as form'd a reflection. I am sure there is hardly any one besides you, I shou'd lay myself thus open to : but I am secure in your friendship, which I rely on (for advice) in this affair. I beg to hear from you in answer by the first post, being with great sincerity,

Your faithful friend

and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER II.

Dear SIR, Beachworth in Surrey, Oct. 12. 1708.

FROM the hour I had writ you that
hasty letter from *Chelsey*, I was in pain till
I had heard from you ; and cou'd not but
often

often wish, I had not writ in that hurry and confusion. But since I have receiv'd yours in answer, I have all the satisfaction imaginable. I see so sincere a return of friendship, that it cannot any more concern me to have laid myself so open.

I wou'd have a friend see me at the worst : and 'tis a satisfaction to find, that if one's failures or weaknesses were greater than really they are, one shou'd still be cherish'd, and be supply'd even with good sentiments and discretion, when they were wanting. One thing only I beg you wou'd take notice of, that I had never any thoughts of applying to the young lady, before I apply'd to the father. My morals are a little too strict to let me have taken such an advantage, had it been ever so fairly offer'd. But my drift was, to learn whether there had been an inclination to any one before me : for many offers had been, and some I know very great, within these few months. And tho' the duty of the daughter might have acquiesc'd in the dislike of the father, so as not to shew any discontent ; yet
 4 there

there might be something of this lying at the heart, and so strongly, that my application and success (if I had any) might be look'd on with an ill eye, and cause a real trouble. This wou'd have caus'd it, I am sure in me ; when I shou'd have come, perhaps too late, to have discover'd it. But there is nothing of this in the case, by all that I can judge or learn. Never did I hear of a creature so perfectly resign'd to duty, so innocent in herself, and so contented under those means, which have kept and still keep her so innocent, as to the vanities and vices of the world ; tho' with real good parts, and improvement of 'em at home : for of this my lord has wisely and handsomely taken care. Never was any thing so unfortunate for me, as that she should be such a fortune : for that I know is what every body will like, and I perhaps have the worst relish of, and least deserve. The other qualities I shou'd prize more than any, and the generality of mankind, instead of prizing, would be apt to contemn : for want of air, and humour, and the wit of general conversation, and the knowledge of the town, and
fashions,

fashions, and diversions, are unpardonable dullnesses in young wives; who are taken more as companions of pleasure, and to be shown abroad as beauties in the world, than to raise families, and support the honour and interest of those they are join'd to.

But to shew you that I am not wanting to myself, since your encouraging and advising letter, I have begun my application, by what you well call * *the right end*. You shall hear with what success, as soon as I know myself. I cou'd both be bolder and abler in the management of the affair, and cou'd promise myself sure success, had I but a constitution that would let me act for myself; and bustle in and about that town, which by this winter-season coming on so fiercely, is by this time in such a cloud of smoke, that I can neither be in it, nor near it. I stay'd but a day or two too long at *Chelsey*, after the setting in of these East and North-East winds, and I had like to have fallen into one of my short breathing fits, which would have ruin'd me.

E

But

* *The father.*

But by flying hither and keeping my distance, I keep my health : but (I may well fear) shall lose my mistress. For who ever courted at this rate ? Did matters lie so as to the fortune, that I cou'd be the obliging side, it might go on with tolerable grace : and so I fear it must be, whenever I marry, or else am like to remain a batchelor.

However, you can never any more arraign my morals after this. You can never charge me, as you have done, for a remissness, and laziness, or an indulgence to my own ways, and love of retirement ; which (as you thought) might have made me averse to undertake the part of wife and children, tho' my country or friends ever so much requir'd it of me. You see it will not be my fault : and you shall find I will not act booty for myself. If I have any kind of success at this *right end*, I will then beg to use the favour of your interest in your cousin, as I shall then mention to you : but instead of setting me off for other things, I wou'd most earnestly beg that you wou'd speak only of your long and thorough

rough knowledge of me, and (if you think it true) of my good temper, honesty, love of my relations and country, sobriety, and virtue. For these I hope I may stand to, as far as I am possess'd of 'em. They will not, I hope, grow worse as I grow older. For tho' I can promise little of my *regimen*, by which I hold my health ; I am persuaded to think no vices will grow upon me, as I manage myself : for in this I have been ever sincere, to make myself as good as I was able, and to live for no other end.

I am asham'd to have writ such a long letter, about myself, as if I had no concern for the publick : tho' I may truly say to you ; if I had not the publick in view, I shou'd hardly have these thoughts of changing my condition at this time of day, that I can better indulge myself in the ease of a single and private life. The weather, which is so unfortunate for me by these settled East winds, keeps the country dry ; and if they are the same (as is likely) in *Flanders*, I hope e'er this *Lisle* is ours,

which has cost us so dear, and held us in such terrible anxiety.

I have been to see lord treasurer that little while he was in town, but cou'd not find him.

Pray let me hear in your next, what time you think of coming * up. I shall be glad to hear soon from you again, wishing you delight and good success in your country affairs, and all happiness and prosperity to your family. I remain,

Dear S I R,

*Your obliged friend and
faithful humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

*Sir John Cropley, with whom
I am here, presents his humble
service to you.*

* From Edlington, a seat the lord MOLESWORTH has in Yorkshire.

LETTER

L E T T E R III.

Dear Sir, Beacworth in Surrey, Oct. 23. 1708.

YO U guess'd right as to the winds, which are still easterly, and keep me here in winter-quarters, from all publick and private affairs. I have neither seen lord treasurer, nor been at * *Chelsey* to prosecute my own affairs : tho' as for the latter, as great as my zeal is, I am forc'd to a stand. I was before-hand told, that as to the lord, he was in some measure engag'd : and the return I had from him, on my application, seem'd to imply as much. On the other side, I have had reason to hope, that the lady, who had before bemoan'd herself for being destin'd to greatness without virtue, had yet her choice to make ; and, after her escapes, sought for nothing so much, as sobriety and a strict virtuous character. How much more still this adds to my zeal, you may believe : and by all hands I have re-

* *He had a pretty retreat at Little Chelsey, which he fitted up according to his own fancy.*

ceiv'd the highest character of your relation, who seems to have inspir'd her with these and other good sentiments, so rare in her sex and degree. My misfortune is, I have no friend in the world by whom I can in the least engage, or have access to your relation, but only by yourself : and I have no hopes of seeing you soon, or of your having an opportunity to speak of me to her. If a letter cou'd be proper, I shou'd fancy it more so at this time than any other : provided you would found it on the common report which is abroad, of my being in treaty for that lady. This might give you an occasion of speaking of me as to that part, which few besides can know so well, I mean *my heart* : which, if she be such as really all people allow, will not displease her to hear so well of, as, perhaps in friendship and from old acquaintance, you may represent. If the person talk'd of be really my rival, and in favour with the father, I must own my case is next to desperate ; not only because I truly think him, as the world goes, likely enough to make a good (at least a civil) husband ; but because as my aim

is

is not fortune, and his is, he being an old friend too, I shou'd unwillingly stand between him and an estate ; which his liberality has hitherto hinder'd him from gaining, as great as his advantages have been hitherto in the government. By what I have said, I believe you may guess who * my suppos'd rival is : or if you want a farther hint, 'tis one of the chief of the *Junto*, an old friend of yours and mine, whom we long sat with in the house of commons (not often voted with) but who was afterwards taken up to a higher house ; and is as much noted for wit, and gallantry, and magnificence, as for his eloquence and courtier's character. But whether this be so suited to this meek good lady's happiness, I know not. Fear of partiality and self-love makes me not dare determine ; but rather mistrust myself, and turn the balance against me. Pray keep this secret, for I got it by chance : and if there be any thing in it, 'tis a great secret between the two lords themselves. But sometimes I fancy it is a nail, which will hardly go : tho' I am pretty certain,

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* Charles Montague, late Earl of Halifax.

tain, it has been aim'd at by this old acquaintance of ours, ever since a disappointment happen'd from a great lord beyond sea, who was to have had the lady.

Nothing but the sincere friendship you show for me, cou'd make me to continue thus to impart my privatest affairs : and in reality, tho' they seem wholly private and selfish, I will not be asham'd to own the honesty of my heart to you ; in professing that the publick has much the greatest part in all this bustle, I am ingaging in. You have lately made me believe, and even prov'd too by experience, that I had some interest in the world ; and there, where I least dream't of it, with great men in power. I had always something of an interest in my country, and with the plain honest people : and sometimes I have experienced both here at home, and abroad, where I have long liv'd, and made acquaintance (in *Holland* especially) that with a plain character of honesty and disinterestedness, I have on some occasions, and in dangerous urgent times of the publick, been able to do some good.

good. If the increase of my fortune be the least motive in this affair before me (as sincerely I do not find) I will venture to say, it can only be in respect of the increase of my interest, which I may have in my country, in order to serve it.

One who has little notion of magnificence, and less of pleasure and luxury, has not that need of riches which others have. And one who prefers tranquillity and a little study, and a few friends, to all other advantages of life, and all the flatteries of ambition and fame, is not like to be naturally so very fond of engaging in the circumstances of marriage. I do not go swimmingly to it, I assure you : nor is the great fortune a great bait. Sorry I am, that no body with a less fortune, or more daughters, has had the wit to order such an education. A very moderate fortune had serv'd my turn ; or perhaps quality alone, to have a little justify'd me, and kept me in countenance, had I chose so humbly. But now that which is rich oar, and wou'd have been the most estimable had it been bestow'd on
me,

me, will be mere dross, and flung away on others ; who will pity and despise those very advantages, which I prize so much. But this is one of the common places of exclamation, against the distribution of things in this world : and, upon my word, whoever brought up the proverb, 'tis no advantageous one for a providence to say, *matches are made in heaven*. I believe rather in favour of providence, that there is nothing which is so merely fortune, and more committed to the power of blind chance. So I must be contented, and repine the less at my lot, if I am disappointed in such an affair. If I satisfy my friends that I am not wanting to myself, it's sufficient. I am sure you know it, by the sound experience of all this trouble I have given, and am still like to give you. Tho' I confess myself, yet even in this too I do but answer friendship, as being so sincerely and affectionately

*Your most faithful friend
and humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R IV.

Dear S I R, Beachworth, Nov. 4. 1708.

I Was at *Chelsey* when I receiv'd yours with the inclos'd, and was so busy'd in the employment you had given me, by your encouragement and kind assistance in a certain affair, that I have let pass two posts without returning you thanks, for the greatest marks of your friendship, that any one can possibly receive. Indeed I might well be ashamed to receive 'em in one sense ; since the * character you have given of me, is so far beyond what I dare think suitable : tho' in these cases, one may better perhaps give way to vanity than in any other. But tho' friendship has made you over favourable, there is one truth however, which your letter plainly carries with it, and must do me service. It shows that I have a real and passionate friend in you : and to have deserv'd such a friendship, must be believ'd

* This relates to a letter the lord Molesworth had written in his favour.

some

some sort of merit. I don't say this as aiming at a fine speech: but in reality, where one sees so little friendship, and of so short continuance, as commonly in mankind; it must be, one wou'd think, even in the sex's eye, a pledge of constancy, fidelity, and other merit, to have been able to engage and preserve so lasting and firm a friendship with a man of worth. So that you see, I can find a way to reconcile myself to all you have said in favour of me, allowing it to have been spoken in passion; and in this respect the more engaging with the sex; who are as good or better judges than we ourselves, of the sincerity of affection.

But in the midst of my courtship came an East wind, and with the town-smoke did my business, or at least wou'd have done it effectually, had I not fled hither with what breath I had left. Indeed I cou'd have almost laugh'd at my own misfortune: there is something so odd in my fortune and constitution. You may think me melancholy, if you will. I own there was a time in publick affairs when

I really was : for, saving yourself, and perhaps one or two more (I speak the most) I had none that acted with me, against the injustice and corruption of both parties : each of them inflam'd against me, particularly one, because of my birth and principles ; the other, because of my pretended apostacy, which was only adhering to those principles on which their party was founded. There have been apostates indeed since that time. But the days are long since past, that you and I were treated as * *Jacobites*. What to say for some companions of ours, as they are now † chang'd, I know not : but as to my own particular, I assure you, that since those sad days of the publick, which might have help'd

* *The truly apostate Whigs, who became servile and arbitrary to please court empiricks, branded all those as Jacobites, who adher'd to those very principles, that occasion'd and justify'd the revolution.*

† *Here he means some who voted with him in his favourite bills, and who were originally Whigs ; but out of pique and disappointment, became if not real Jacobites (which was scarce possible) yet in effect as bad, by promoting all the designs peculiar to that desperate party.*

on

on perhaps with that melancholy or spleen which you fear in me, and for certain have help'd me to this ill state of health : I am now however, as free as possible ; and even in respect to my health too, excepting only the air of *London*, I am, humanly speaking, very passable : but gallantly speaking, and as a courtier of the fair sex, God knows I may be very far from passing. And I have that sort of stubbornness and wilfulness (if that be spleen) that I cannot bear to set a better face on the matter, than it deserves ; so I am like to be an ill courtier, for the same reason that I am an ill jockey. It is impossible for me, to conceal my horse's imperfections or my own, where I mean to dispose of either. I think it unfair : so that cou'd any quack, by a peculiar medicine, set me up for a month or two, enough to go through with my courtship, I wou'd not accept of his offer, unless I cou'd miraculously *be made whole*. Now for a country health and a town neighbourhood, I am sound and well : but for a town life, whether it be for business or diversion, 'tis out of my compass.

I say all this ; that you may know my true state, and how desperate a man you serve, and in how desperate a case. Shou'd any thing come of it, the friendship will appear the greater : or if nothing, the friendship will appear the same still, as to me myself. Your letter was deliver'd : I hope you will hear soon in answer to it. The old lord continues wonderful kind to me, and I hear has lately spoken of me so to others. Our publick affairs at home will be much chang'd, by the late death of the * prince. But I have been able to see no body : so won't attempt to write, and will end here with the assurance of my being,

Dear S I R,

Your most obliged and

faithful friend and servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

L E T T E R

* *The prince of Denmark.*

LETTER V.

Dear S I R, *Chelfey Nov. 20. 1708.*

I Came hither from *Surrey* but yesterday, and found your second letter; which if I had not receiv'd, I shou'd however not have fail'd writing this post about our changes talk'd of, which I hope will be to the publick advantage. As to the admiralty, and the consequences of keeping it in the administration it had lain under during the prince's time, you knew my mind fully, as well as my opinion of this present lord, who, I hope, may with certainty be called *lord high admiral*. 'Tis lord *Pembroke* I mean, who with great reluctancy at last accepts it, I believe: tho' he plainly said (as I have been inform'd) that he was inserted only to serve a turn, and that another great lord (the favorite of our Whig-party) was at the bottom intended, and wou'd in some time succeed him. But I really believe things stand on a better bottom: and, that as strictly as the lord *Somers* is bound to the party of friends with whom he rose, he has yet that wisdom,
and

and with-all that regard to his country's interest, especially under a ministry of which he is like to have so great a share ; that however the low *Whigs* may murmur, he will be glad to see the naval affairs in the hands of so universally belov'd a man, so honourable and uncorrupt as lord *Pembroke*.

By this you will find I take for granted, that lord *Somers* comes into the place talk'd of for him of *president of the council* ; and believe it is true that he has kiss'd the queen's hand, tho' not directly as a minister receiv'd. But pretty near it you may believe : since at this time of mourning (and so sincere a mourner as the queen is) she hardly would see a stranger, and which is more, a man so estrang'd from her, and so wholly off from the court as lord *Somers* has been, and whom I scarce believe she has admitted at any time to kiss her hand ; he having been for certain the prince's aversion, as you may judge by those, who chiefly influenc'd the prince, and were the violentest enemies lord *Somers* had. I must confess I ever wish'd well to this correspondence,

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dence, there now is between lord *Somers* and our * lord ; but can pretend to have had no share in effecting it. With all the other lords of the *Junto*, I have maintain'd only a very cool and distant acquaintance : but I have ever distinguish'd lord *Somers*, and believe so well both of our lord and him, that the union between them is upon a handsomer and better bottom, than that of giving up their particular friends on either side ; and even lord *Pembroke*, (a *Tory*) on whom all this turns, is a proof, I think, that this change is not wholly a party matter.

Lord *Wharton* indeed is true steel : but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opinion of his private life and principles, I fancy his good understanding will make him show himself a better lord lieutenant, than is expected. More changes I know not of : nor do I believe many are to be expected.

Forgive this hasty sheet I here inclose to you. 'Tis late, and I shall miss this night's

* The lord treasurer.

post

post sending hence to town: so add only my
constant and sincere profession of being,

Dear S I R,

Your obliged friend and

faithful humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER VI.

Dear S I R, Beachworth, Nov. 25. 1708.

I Shou'd be very sorry if you miss'd mine,
of last post but one, from *Chelfey*, in which
I writ you my whole thoughts of the changes.

The parliament has now sat, and for the
first trying question we have lost the *ballot*,
tho' but by nine. Our friends stuck fast.
But kindness to this ministry, which the best
men are willing to favour, made the struggle
not so great as might be. Sir *Peter King*,
our friend, spoke worthily for it. Sir *Joseph*
Jekyl, and all those did as before, and went

on our side. The late speakers beset the * new one ; and he will have I fear a hard task, if this be not an easy sessions, as our great news and glorious success abroad is like to make it.

As for myself and private affairs (with which I did not trouble you in my last long one) you may judge by the place where I am, that they go not on very smartly. Making court any where, or in any sense, I find is not among my talents, if I have any. I have done more in this affair, than I thought it possible for me to have done, having so great an opinion (as I still have) of the lady. But it is hard, even for us men, to know ourselves : harder for women, however wise. She may like a younger man and a sprightlier, far better perhaps than such a one as I am. But I believe such a one will not so like or value her as I do ; or in the main make her so happy, so vain I am. But whatever my thoughts are of myself, I am not us'd to set myself off for my interest-sake, and make the

* Sir Richard Onslow, *since created lord Onslow.*

best of what I have. Health I have not in the highest degree. Be it spleen, or real infirmity, 'tis the same misfortune to a lady. Cou'd I make a show of health with safety, and pursue the lady, where I might have opportunity to win her liking by this means, and appearing better without doors than I am within at ordinary hours ; I wou'd not do this, whatever depended on it. But as the season is, and the severe North-east winds, and town-smoke, I am driven from my quarters at *Chelfey* ; and think not that I shall be able to return there, till the strength of the winter is over : so will take the first fair weather, to go to my winter-quarters at * *St. Giles's*. A thousand thanks to you for your kind concern in an affair, which I have taken so much to heart. Your writing again in answer, as you did the first post, was mighty right, to me extremely obliging. If I see the least glimmering of hope, you shall be sure to know.

* *His paternal seat in Dorsetshire, which he us'd bigbly to commend ; and indeed I have heard it as much admir'd by others.*

I have given order at *Chelfey* about the vines : adieu, dear Sir, I am

Most faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

Sir *John* and Mr. *Micklethwayt* (who are both here at this instant, rejoicing with me on the good news from abroad) desire very earnestly to have their humble services presented to you.

LETTER VII.

Dear S I R, Beachworth, Jan. 6. 1708-9.

HAD I not by accident heard long since, that you were on the road to town, you may be sure I shou'd be imploying the leisure time I have here, in writing to you : especially after such long and friendly letters, as I have lately receiv'd from you on publick and private subjects ; and in which you are so favourable to me, as to lay a stress upon my judgment and opinion in the affairs of my country :
which

which of late years I have been forc'd to look on at a distance, without any thing that can be call'd * a share in 'em myself. I must own, I began of late to flatter myself, with a way of service I little dreamt of, and which I never thought myself capable of or qualify'd for † heretofore. I never thought I shou'd see any of the great men at court so inclinable to publick good, as to regard or hearken to a man, who had chiefly that at heart : and, to say truth of myself, I always thought I had a stubbornness of nature, which wou'd hinder me from making a right advantage of good ministers, whenever we shou'd come to have any such. But the being taken down very early in my life, from those high imaginations I had, and those hopes of doing service in the plain way of business and parliaments, the mortification wrought so far in my advantage, that I became milder and more tractable : and in this condition you found me, when you laid hold of an opportunity, and with a most

* *By reason of his asthma.*

† *Giving advice to those at the helm, of which no man was more capable, both in respect of ability and integrity.*

particular mark of friendship, recommended me to a * great man, and brought me under obligation to him. The little time I have had since with him, I employ'd the best I cou'd, in such advices and such offer of service as became me. Nor do I think I have been any way unfortunate, in giving the least offence ; or raising that frightful idea, which courtiers are apt to have of patriots and men of rigid virtue. I flatter myself egregiously, or I am well in his opinion, and have lost no ground. But if it be so, and as I faithfully believe, I will be sworn, there never was a more dis-interests'd man in his station : for if I may judge by myself, he leaves it to his friends and those he has oblig'd, to be grateful, and to act for him as they fancy, and as their heart prompts 'em ; but for his part, he lays no burdens, nor requires any service in return.

But this however ought not to lessen the zeal and earnest endeavour of one who is oblig'd, and in a truly honest man it must increase it ; and this, for his own sake, I wish he

* *The lord treasurer.*

may

may be wise enough to know : for I had rather such goodness of his shou'd come from reflection, than mere natural temper and generosity ; for he that can see so deep into hearts, and comprehend the mystery of honesty (a real mystery in most courts) will never want any of those generous inclinations which make a worthy character. But the misfortune is, we honest men (if I may speak thus presumptuously of myself) are a little mysterious ourselves. There is a cloud over us, which is hard to be clear'd up. The rugged paths we walk through, give us a rugged pace ; and the idle supine illiterate creatures of a court-education, have a thousand advantages above us : and can easier borrow from our character than we from theirs ; tho' of right there shou'd be nothing fair or handsome, in which we shou'd come behind 'em. And it ought to be a shame, that a mere courtier shou'd, for his interest-sake, be more assiduous and better behav'd in every respect ; than the man, who makes court for his country, and tries to profit of the good disposition of great men in power. Our friend *Horace* found

found the difficulty and weight of this, in the case of an honest man, who lov'd his * great friend, but scorn'd to be a slave,

† *Scurrantis speciem praebere, professus amicum;*

And therefore (with a sigh, to be sure) he says,

‡ *Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,
Expertus metuit——*

But we have a better cause than *Horace*, or his friend *Lollius*, whom he writes to ; and therefore should strive to do more. They had only themselves to serve, but we our country and mankind. And there was a great difference between those ministers whom they courted, and the minister our friend ; for their ministry was the enslaving of their country, and the world ; this ministry is the very delivering of both, and the foundation of a nobler structure of liberty (by a just *balance* of *power* at home and abroad) than ever was yet laid by mankind. They are in so good a

* *Mecenas.* † *Lib. 1. Epist. 18. ver. 2.* ‡ *Ibid. ver. 86.*

way,

way, they can scarce miscarry. Nor can they fail of reward in the just esteem and gratitude of the publick, if they are not most unhappily wanting to themselves in their private friendships. But if trusting to their publick merit, or to their interest in their prince, they either make no friends, or such as have not courage and wisdom, their enemies will find advantages against 'em in any state of affairs.

As our present affairs stand, I am sure a minister has need to be fortify'd with good friends and honest advisers. He ought to know how he stands with the publick, how every action and step is construed, and what the people think of matters, before the proof comes in a parliament. 'Tis my opinion, that a peace is not so near, as it may seem. I know the hard circumstances the *Dutch* lie under, will make them press for the first terms, that seem any way advantageous. But matters are not at present to be transacted by a whisper, between two gentlemen of the blade ; and others must have the secret communicated

municated to them, besides * a *Monsieur Bouffleurs* or *Milor Portland*: so great a change has happen'd since that last peace, both in the government of *England*, as well as *Holland*! and a chancellor here apprehends another sort of duty, as well as a pensioner there, thanks to the *Tory* gentlemen, for this their notable furtherance of the prerogative. For I was one of those sorrowful *Whigs*, who bemoaned the sad case of our constitution, according to which the power of peace and war was wholly in the prince; whilst the *Tories* saw plainly that it was otherwise, and cou'd impeach a lord † chancellor for placing the seal, where I sincerely thought he cou'd not refuse to do it at his prince's command. But let lord-chancellors, and other ministers look to themselves. If our constitution was not so then, it is become so now: for not the abso-

* These made the famous partition-treaty, which was so ill relish'd in England, and rejected by the parliament. For a while it was kept very secret, which circumstance alone is a just presumption, that a treaty is not for the advantage or honour of the nation.

† Lord Somers. Lord Portland was also impeach'd; as were at the same time the lords Orford and Hallifax.

lute

lute command, the obstinacy, the rashness, or ill judgment of the prince himself (tho' ever so much a principal in the case, or tho' single, or by himself) can justify or excuse the least flaw in a treaty ; for which the ministers are with their heads to be answerable to the people, as by late precedents it has been establish'd. These difficulties may easily show a wise minister, that he has need of very discerning, bold, and honest friends ; and such as are not only able by their advice to assist him, but by their interest and credit, be as it were hostages and pledges for him to the publick, and to that conceal'd party of sober and honest men : who, as few as they are, and as little noisy, have a much greater part in the influence of affairs, than ministers are apt to think ; especially those ministers, who affect a high contempt of *coffee-houses* and *pamphlets*. But it's time to end my scrawl, and tell you the chief reason of it over leaf.

I have been shamefully tedious about publick affairs, but will be shorter about private ; after only asking, how comes it you are not
in

in parliament ? For your own sake perhaps I am not so much concern'd ; for I know too well what hardships lie upon one, who will not be a slave to a party ;* and such men shou'd be rather reserv'd for the most hazardous and calamitous times, when publick necessity and common danger make their merits and opinion better regarded. But for a good † lord's sake I am sorry you are not there : for tho' you may serve him less invidiously, and with more satisfaction perhaps to himself, in another station ; yet he wants those in such a body as the house of commons, who are friends to his ministry, and yet free to act for those they represent. This I know may be shocking in many cases : and if it be so, and the difficulty be invincible, I congratulate your escape ; but condole with another person the want of a more truly refin'd policy, than I see is understood at court.

* He does not mean their care should be in prosecuting, which often proves a worse remedy than the disease ; but by considering the contents of them, and thereby judging of the sentiments of the people, or at least of some party among them.

† Lord treasurer.

As

As for my affair, it hangs just as it did. The more I learn from all hands, the more I see, and hear, and observe, the more I incline, but hope less: for if I had not fears, that I am wholly disregarded on the side of another sex, I am confident I cou'd go further in prevailing, and shou'd have better interest in our own, than any other. I have this reason, that besides a declaration in my favour, with a liking of my character, family, circumstances, with the profession of a sincere friendship, which has been of long standing, and all other commendations and professions that I cou'd modestly wish or desire, besides all this (I say) I have a merit that no body else will rival me in, for I wou'd be glad of obtaining upon any terms: and that which is so hard to be parted with, is what I seek not either now, or in reversion. And let this be a token to you, that I am not cool or indifferent, as you suspect and reproach me in one of your letters. I wou'd with all my soul ingage myself this moment to the person (were I but lik'd) with a renunciation of every thing of interest or fortune,

tune, either present, or to come; and if I lose the person, even thus, I shall esteem it a loss: and whenever I shall think of ingaging elsewhere (if this be lost to me) I shall show that money is not so mighty a thing in my esteem, that it shou'd seem incredible for me to pursue in such a disinterests'd manner.

But surely you will not think this so strange in me, that I shou'd value virtue so much, and wealth so little. And now that I have spent a whole page upon myself (contrary to my promise) committing myself and my affair wholly to you, and resolving to take your judgment on it, I wait your advices, and remain, dear Sir,

Your most obliged

and ever faithful friend

and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

If you direct to me to Sir *John's* here at *Beachworth* in *Surrey*, by *Darking-bagg*, the post will bring your letter quick; but if any thing

thing of great importance, a servant of mine shall come away at any time from *Chelsey*, to bring what you have to communicate: or perhaps Mr. *Micklethwayt*, who is often coming hither (generally once a week) may be the conveyer; at least he will send it to *Chelsey*, or see it safe convey'd, if you direct him.

L E T T E R VIII.

Dear SIR, Beachworth, Jan. 12. 1708-9.

THAT you might not be in pain on my account; I took the resolution, as soon as I had read yours, to send an answer away with the soonest, without waiting the return of the post. So this, which is writ late to-night, will I hope come to you to-morrow evening by the penny-post, since it is to be in town before noon. And glad one is of any opportunity of a messenger, such as go by necessity on their own business, and on foot: for our servants and horses cannot stir out of this bottom, where we are block'd up by the

G deep

deep snows ; and, what is worse, the melted snow now turn'd again by the frost into a crufted ice.

I was already on my journey to the west, with my face (in the *Jewish* phrase) towards *St. Giles's* ; but now I am a sojourner here of necessity. I can neither go backward nor forward ; nor cou'd I, tho' I were a robust man : but as a tender one, I know not what will become of me, or my affairs. For no body's affairs ever requir'd their presence more than mine do at this time, and have done this good while in the country.

But now, as to what you write to me of your being in concern for, on my account, you need fear no resentment or reproach from me on that score. I have that intire dependance on my friend, that I can always commit my affairs and secrets to him as plenipotentiary ; and where I have once given my heart (allow a lover to speak in lover's language) I can easily intrust my interest. You have long had my heart, even before I knew you personally.

sonally. For the holy and truly pious man, who reveal'd the greatest of mysteries ; he, who with a truly generous love to mankind and his country, pointed out the *state of Denmark* to other states, and prophesy'd of the things highliest important to the growing age : he, I say, had already gain'd me as his sworn friend, before he was so kind as to make friendship reciprocal, by his acquaintance and express'd esteem. So that you may believe it no extraordinary transition in me, from making you in truth my oracle in publick affairs, to make you a thorough confident in my private. All therefore, that I am concern'd for, in this bold attempt of yours, is for your own sake ; lest your partiality to me, shou'd have made you too forward in showing what was not so worthy of being seen as you imagine, and people are apt to think such things are from design. For my own part, I cou'd not but wonder with myself a great while (for I cou'd with difficulty recollect) what kind of a letter I had writ you : and it is really a solemn law, which I impose on myself in respect of my near friends, never to write but with

the freedom, hastiness, and incorrectness of common talk ; that they may have all as it comes uppermost. As for this, I can appeal to my late letters, and all that I have writ you on my love subject : for I am confident, I never so much as read over one, that I wrote to you on that head. But be it as it will, if what happen'd was but natural (and of that you are best judge) I am satisfy'd ; and hope it may prove for the best, as you seem so positively to assure. And for the other part, my love affair, using the same good judgment you have in this as well as in the other, do as you judge best. I leave all to you : only shou'd be sorry that you ran the least hazard, in going too far out of doors this weather. And therefore beg that your zeal for me wou'd not push you, to what wou'd be a real trouble for me to hear. Take your time, use your own way, act for me with full power, and report your judgment.

If I have that interest you intimate in a
* great man, I assure you as well for the pub-

* *Lord treasurer.*

lick's

Lick's sake, as for my own (in real love and obligation to him) I will not indulge myself in any respect ; but be a courtier to my utmost, and see him often at *St. James's, Kensington, Windsor*, or wherever he is. Only my health will not bear with any kind of attendance in winter-time, when I am forc'd to attend upon myself ; and by that care, and sparing of myself, have recover'd (when by nothing else I cou'd) out of the most languishing condition for three or four years : for which I have endur'd (and must endure it seems, because of the singularity of my distemper) the judgment of the world, as one fantastical and splenetick. But my near friends, those of all hours, and that see me in all circumstances, can best witness for me as to that : tho' perhaps, now they are for advancing me in matrimony, they may magnify my bodily estate, at the hazard of that of my mind, which is less (they think) a fair lady's concern. But I like not the stratagem, and desire to appear in truth what I am ; only if I am more careful of my health against the time of such an ingagement, I may be the

more excus'd: and indeed it is but after all what is necessary to preserve me, if I am worth preserving for any good I can do the publick, or my friends. Never any one cou'd more justly ask that leave, which you yourself ask of me,

*-----*Ægrotare timentis, &c.*

And therefore, I hope as soon as the hardest of the winter has spent itself (which is spending apace) I shall return,

† *Cum zephyris, si concedes, & hirundine prima.*

Forgive this habit of long letters, which you have encourag'd. I rest

Faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER IX.

Dear SIR, St. Giles's, Feb. 21. 1708-9.

HOW shall I sufficiently acknowledge the kind services you have lately done me?

You may well say indeed, that you love not

• *Hor. Lib. 1. Ep. 7. ver. 4.* † *Ibid. ver. 13.*

to do things by halves. I am sure you are an intire friend ; and I am not surpriz'd to find you so : for when my acquaintance with you was only upon publick affairs, I never found you a half-patriot. We were then fellow-sufferers, for being *so wholly* what we pretended : and the world, I believe, has made us but little amends since. 'Tis pleasant to imagine, that, if we have met with better fortune, it has been by means of one another. Wou'd I cou'd make it indeed thoroughly reciprocal ! for, on my side, I may truly say, that the first turning of the stream, which had run against me, was by your hand ; and in the most desperate case (which was the injury I receiv'd in an injur'd friend) you instantly set all right ; and what I had with pain, and trouble, and all manner of ill usage, been soliciting for many years, you accomplish'd for me in a few weeks, and gave me my first friend at court. After this miracle, I have had faith enough to think you might do any thing. Indeed I did not think you cou'd have conquer'd snows and frosts, and have brav'd the hardest winter-weather. Yet 'twas in this season that you

made such a successful sally for me, and gave me so good an account of my affairs, which I was almost come to think wholly desperate.

But your short and long letter (which have both come safe to me) as well as the account receiv'd from my friends the post before, give me new hopes. I wish I cou'd answer as well in the matter of my health, as I can in all other respects, where you have kindly been undertaker and guarantee for me. If I am more careful of my health now than before, 'tis because I have this occasion: and that the more than ordinary care I have had of it of late, has succeeded so well with me. This I am sure of, that I am so far from being averse to live in the world, and to have a share in the converse and affairs of it; that had I a wife that was discreet, and good, and capable of advice, I shou'd more than any one be desirous of her being much in the world, and supplying that part for me. My bookishness has so little reason to fright any one, that if I had ever been of a temper to love books, better than the conversation of my friends

friends and relations ; I am now really necessitated to lay them by, for no body wants little amusements more than I do. And tho' on account of my mind I cou'd boast perhaps, that, in the greatest solitude, I cou'd vie with any one for ease and chearfulness ; yet since the change that happen'd in my health, I am not able to apply as formerly ; nor even study above an hour at a time, or hardly as much more in a whole day. And I, who had gone thro' the diversions and entertainment of some courts, and foreign countries, and in the company of ladies, without ever once playing at cards, or knowing any such thing as play ; I'm of late become a card-player with the women, and am better qualify'd for chat with them, than for speeches in a parliament or works in a study. Thus most things have their convenience and inconvenience. 'Tis certain, that in many respects I may be said to make a better husband now, that my hands are ty'd ; than I shou'd have done, if I had been left to act to the utmost of my strength in politicks. There is a selfishness in the love that is paid a wife, and in the attendance on a family,

family, and all the little affairs of it ; which, had I my full scope of action in the publick, I shou'd hardly have submitted to. An honest man must certainly be the greatest happiness of an honest woman. But then, there is bitter too with the sweet ; for an honest man will love the publick, and act honestly in the publick : and if he does so, 'tis two to one but he is hard set, and perhaps ground between the parties ; at least he will have but a solicitous life of it. He can't so well *vacare uxori* as the knave : but then the knave will be a knave to her, and *vacare* to other women instead of her. And thus upon a *medium*, I look upon myself as in reality better qualify'd than ever for a good husband, if it be to a truly good woman, whose chief satisfaction wou'd be a conversible and chearful way of living, with a man who lov'd and valu'd her ; and whose chief thoughts and time wou'd be bestow'd on her and her children, and to make her life as agreeable as cou'd be to herself, and her part in the world as considerable.

But

But to come to practice after my doctrine, you may depend upon it, I will not be long 'ere I return again to you : and tho' after a long absence, and the death of an old servant who had all my affairs here in his hands, I have found things in great disorder, I shou'd value no loss of this kind. The weather seems now to break : and if the roads (as in a fortnight or three weeks they may be) become passable, and the weather tolerable, I will soon come and make my second attempt, with all the strength of friends that I can make on my side. And if I can but have the least kind help from within the place, we may be able to carry it.

'Tis a sad case for such a one as I am, to hang in suspense in an affair of this kind, where I am so passionately engag'd. I find it worse perhaps than another, because I am so us'd to have my head free for publick affairs and thoughts of a larger kind. But I protest, tho' I have twenty things to say to you about the publick, I can't come out with one.

Forgive

Forgive me I beg you, and place it to the account of that zeal I have in an affair, you have thus forwarded, and is in your hands ; as is intirely

Your oblig'd friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER X.

Dear SIR, St. Giles's, March 7. 1708-9.

I Shou'd indeed have been concern'd very much at your silence, had I not known of your health by your friends and mine, with whom you lately din'd. I fear'd your constitution wou'd suffer by this extremity of weather, we have had. The town-smoke, I think, is no addition to this evil in your respect : but with me it wou'd have been destruction. The happiness of a most healthy and warm, as well as a pleasant situation, where I am, and which I may really praise beyond any I have known in *England*, has preserv'd me in better health this winter, than I cou'd

cou'd have imagin'd. And I design to profit
 of the stock I have laid up, and come soon
 where I may have the happiness of conversing
 with you. But now you have led me into the
 talk of friendship, and have so kindly expof-
 tulated with me about my thanks, let me in
 my turn expostulate too about your excuses for
 your letters, or even for your omission. I well
 know you wou'd not forget me, were there
 any thing that friendship requir'd. For the
 rest, friendship requires that we shou'd be
 easy, and make each other so. 'Tis an in-
 justice to a real friend, to deny one's self the
 being lazy, when one has a mind to it. I
 have profess'd to you, that I take that liberty
 myself, and wou'd use it if there were oc-
 casion. But besides other inequalities that are
 between us, over and above those you reckon'd
 up ; consider that, together with my full lei-
 sure and retreat here in the country (by which
 means I have choice of hours to write when
 I fancy) I have also a secret and private in-
 terest that pushes me forward to be writing to
 you, as often and as much as I can. I am
 asham'd things shou'd stand so unequally be-
 tween

tween us : for you have not yet had a fair trial, what a correspondent I shou'd prove upon equal terms, nor can I impute a single letter of mine to mere friendship. But I am more asham'd still, when I, who shou'd make excuses, am forc'd to receive 'em. See if you are not over-generous ! for any one, besides yourself, wou'd be apt to use a little raillery with a man in my circumstances ; that had such an affair depending, and wholly in your hands. But I find you have too much gallantry, as well as friendship, to take the least advantage of a lover ; and are willing to place more to the account of friendship, than I can suffer without blushing. However, be secure of this ; that when you take intentions instead of facts, you can never impute more to me in the way of friendship, than I really deserve. And if I have not yet had the occasion, of proving myself as I wou'd do to you in this respect ; I am satisfy'd, if the occasion offer'd, you wou'd not find me remiss. In the mean time, pray use me with more indulgence, and show me that you can use me as a friend, by writing only when you have a fancy,

fancy, and no more than you have a fancy for. You can't imagine what a favour I shou'd take it, to receive a shorter and a worse letter from you, than you wou'd write perhaps to any friend you had in the world besides. 'Tis a law I set myself with my near and intimate friends, to write in every humour, or neglect writing as I fancy : and from this settled negligence I grow a right correspondent, and write when I scarce think of it, by making thus free with those I write to. If you will take my humour as it runs, you shall have hearty thanks too into the bargain, for taking it off at this rate. Let me but have a small scrap or scrawl (three or four sizes below the first of your letters, after the late conference) and I shall think myself not only favourably, but kindly and friendly dealt with.

* *Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum.*

The truth is, I long for another such precious scarp, as I had after your first attempt for me ; that if you are as successful in a second, and

* *Hor. Lib. 4. Od. 12. ver. 17.*

find

find that your good advice has made impression, and that there be a real foundation of hope, I may come up quickly to make my second attempt upon my old friend.

Your story of friendship cou'd not but delight me, it being one of my darling * pieces : especially being in an author, who, tho' he perpetually does all he can, to turn all morality and virtue into ridicule ; is yet forc'd to pay this, and one or two more remarkable tributes of acknowledgment, to the principle of society and friendship, which is the real principle of life ; the end of life, and not (as some philosophers wou'd have it) the means. *Horace* in his wild days was of another opinion : but when he came in a riper age to state the question,

† *Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumve trahat nos ?*

he always gives it for the latter ; and wou'd

* This story, which is well worth perusing, is in *Lucian's* *Toxaris*, or discourse of friendship.

† *Ibid.* ver. 75.

not

not allow virtue to be a mere name. Let who will despise friendship, or deny a social principle ; they will, if they are any thing ingenuous, be urg'd one time or another to confess the power of it : and if they enjoy it not themselves, will admire or envy it in others. And when they have inverted the whole matter of life, and made friendships, and acquaintances, and alliances, serve only as a means to the great and sole end of interest ; they will find by certain tokens within their own breasts, that they are short of their true and real interests of life ; for this is in reality,

Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

Your judgment too, of the first of the parts in the story of friendship, is in my opinion perfectly just. My natural ambition in friendship, made me wish to be the poor man rather of the two : tho' since I have lately had to deal with a rich one, I have wish'd often to change parts ; and keeping the wealth I have, wou'd fain have my old friend to be heartily poor, and accordingly make an experiment of me by such a legacy. But I am afraid, he

H

hardly

hardly thinks me capable of accepting of it : or if he did, I know not whether he wou'd think the more favourably of me. Mine is a hard case indeed, when I am on one side oblig'd to act so disinterest'd a part ; and yet must be careful on the other side, lest for not loving money, I shou'd be thought an ill son-in-law, and unfit to be intrusted with any thing. Thus you see I mix love and philosophy : and so I shou'd politicks and publick affairs with private, if my place at this time was not the country, and yours the town. However, I can't forbear intreating you to send me word, whether the proposal about * *Dunkirk* was from our friend in the ministry or not ? for I heard he dislik'd it, or seem'd to do so ; and for the last there may be good reason, as he is a statesman : for the former, I can see none, but am rather inclin'd to think, that as a generous and true statesman, he had for many reasons (in respect of foreign and home affairs) contriv'd that the proposal shou'd seem

* *The demolishing of its fortifications and ruining of its harbour, which was first propos'd in the unaccomplish'd treaties of the Hague and Gertruydenburg, 1703.*

to have its rise from a popular heat ; rather than from the cabinet council, and as a deliberate thought. But if my own thought of it be fond, 'tis in the way of friendship still : for I cou'd wish a friend the happiness of being author of every publick good, that was possible for him, and not to be a hindrance or obstruction to any.

To conclude, one word about my private affair, and I ha' done for this time. I beg you, when you have been your visits, and made your utmost effort to see what foundation I may hope for, you wou'd write me a line instantly. For tho' I have private affairs of some consequence, that shou'd keep me here at least a month or six weeks longer, I will despise all of that kind : and, now the roads are passable and weather tolerable, will come up at a week's warning ; if a man who loves and admires is known, tho' never seen, can possibly be favor'd, or thought to deserve. For if so, the cause is nobler, and there is a better foundation for acting boldly.

Adieu, Adieu.

H 2

L E T T E R

L E T T E R X I.

Dear S I R, Beachworth, June 3. 1709.

TIS now long since I had fix'd my thoughts on nothing, but the happiness of seeing you ; and profiting of those advantages, which the perfectest friendship, with the greatest address, and indefatigable pains, had compass'd in my behalf. There was nothing I might not have hop'd from such a foundation as you had laid : and all the enchantments in the world cou'd not have held proof, had my sad fate allow'd me but to have follow'd my guide, and executed what my general had so ably design'd. But not a star, but has been my enemy. I had hardly got over the unnatural winter, but with all the zeal imaginable I dispatch'd my affairs, and came up from the west, thinking to surprize you by a visit. The hurry I came away in, and the fatigue of more than ordinary business, I was forc'd to dispatch that very morning I set out, join'd with the ill weather which return'd again upon
my

my journey, threw me into one of my ill fits of the *Asthma*, and almost kill'd me on the road. After a few weeks I got this over, and my hopes reviv'd: and last week I went to *Chelsey*, paid my visit next day to the old man, found him not at home, resolv'd to redouble my visits, and once more endeavour to move him. But the winds return'd to their old quarter, I had *London* smoke on me for a day or two; grew extremely ill with it, and was forc'd to retire hither, where I have but just recover'd breath.

What shall I do in such a case? To trouble you further, I am ashamed; ashamed too, that I shou'd have push'd such an affair, to which my strength was so little suitable: and yet ashamed to desist, after what I have done, and the vast trouble I have put you to. But fortune has at length taught me that lesson of philosophy, *to know myself*, my constitution I mean: for my mind (in this respect at least) I know full well. And I wish in all other things I cou'd be as unerring and perfect, as I have been in this affair; in which I am cer-

tain no ambition, or thought of interest, has had any part : though it may look as if all my aim had been fortune, and not the person and character of the lady, as I have pretended. But in this I dare almost say with assurance, *you know my heart.* Whether the lady does, or ever will, God knows : for I have scarce the heart left to tell it her, had I the opportunity.

So much for my sad fortune.

I hope however to be at *Chelsey* again in a few days, and I long for the happiness of seeing you there : for I have no hopes of being able to wait on you at your lodgings.

If the Queen goes soon to *Windsor*, I hope soon to see the great man, our friend ; whom I can easier visit there, than at *St. James's*. He has been so kind to enquire after me with particular favour, and has sent me a kind message in relation to publick affairs.

I am, Dear S I R,

Your most obliged friend,

and faithful humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

L E T T E R XII.

My dear friend, Chelfey, June 15. 1709.

I WAS this day to wait again on my old lord. I found him as civil and obliging as ever. But when I came to make mention of my affair, I found the subject was uneasy to him. I did but take occasion, when he spoke in praise of my little house and study, to tell him I built it in a different view from what his lordship knew me to have of late : for I had then (I told him) no thoughts beyond a single life. I wou'd have added, that since I was unhappy in my first offer, and had turn'd my thoughts as I had lately done, when I flatter'd myself in the hopes of his favour, I cou'd no longer enjoy the place or his neighbourhood, with the satisfaction I had done before. —But I found he was deaf on this ear. He seemed to express all the uneasiness that cou'd be, and I cou'd go no further. I see there is no hope left for me. If he thought any one sincere, I believe I might be as likely as any

one to be trusted by him. But I am afraid he thinks but the worse of me, for pretending to value his daughter as I do : and for protesting, that I wou'd be glad to take her without a farthing, present or future ; and yet settle all I have, as I have offer'd him. He will not easily find such a friend and son-in-law ; one that has such a regard for him and his.

But so it must be. He may suffer perhaps as well as I. There is no help for this, when men are too crafty to see plain ; and too interested, to see their real friends and interest. I shall soon shew my sincerity in one respect, if I live : for since I cannot have the woman I have seen and lik'd, I may determine perhaps on one I have never seen ; and take a lady for a character only without a fortune (which I want not) since you and other friends are so kindly importunate, and pressing, on this concern of mine.

But of this more when I see you next, with a thousand acknowledgments and thanks, for the thorough friendship you have shown ; and
what

what is so truly friendship, that I almost think I injure it, when I speak of thanks and acknowledgments.

You will have me take all of this kind in another manner: and therefore on the same foot, I expect you should take all that I have done or ever can do, without ceremony, and as

*Your faithful friend,
and humble servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

L E T T E R XIII.

My dear friend, Beachworth, July 19. 1709.

I CAN hardly be reconcil'd to you, for saying so much as you have done, to express your concern for the disappointment of my grand affair. I am not so ill a friend, nor have liv'd so little in the world, as not to know by experience, that a disappointment in a friend's concern, is often of more trouble to one, than in one's own. And I was so

2 satisfy'd

satisfy'd this was your case, that I was willing to diminish the loss, and make as slight of it as possible; the better to comfort you, and prevent your being too much concern'd at what had happen'd. As to the fortune, I might sincerely have done it; but as to the lady, I own the loss is great enough: for besides her character and education, she was the first I turn'd my thoughts upon, after the promise you had drawn from me the year before; when you join'd with some friends of mine, in kindly pressing me to think of the continuance of a family. Methinks now, I might be acquitted, after this attempt I have made. But you have taken occasion from the ill success of it, to prove how much more still you are my friend, in desiring to make the most of me, while I live, and keep what you can of me for memory-sake afterwards. This is the kindest part in the world: and I can't bring myself so much as to suppose a possibility of your flattering me. I have an easy faith in friendship. My friends may dispose of me as they please, when they thus lay claim to me: and whilst they find me of any use to them,

or

or think I have any power still to serve mankind or my country, in such a sphere as is yet left for me; I can live as happy in a crazy state of health, and out of the way of pleasures and diversions, as if I enjoy'd them in the highest degree. If marriage can be suitable to such a circumstance of life, I am content to engage. I must do my best, to render it agreeable to those I engage with: and my choice, I am sensible, ought for this reason to be as you have wisely prescrib'd for me. I must resolve to sacrifice other advantages, to obtain what is principal and essential in my case.

What other people will say of such a match, I know not; nor what motive they will assign for it, when interest is set aside. Love, I fear, will be scarce a tolerable pretence in such a one as I am: and for a family, I have a brother still alive, whom I may have still some hopes of. What a weakness then wou'd it be thought in me, to marry with little or no fortune, and not in the highest degree of quality neither? Will it be enough that I take a breeder out of a good family, with a right education,

education, fit for a mere wife ; and with no advantages but simple innocence, modesty, and the plain qualities of a good mother, and a good nurse ? This is as little the modern relish, as that old fashion'd wife of *Horace's*,

* *Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli.*

Can you or my friends, who press me to this, bear me out in it ? See, if with all the notions of virtue (which you, more than any one, have help'd to propagate in this age) it be possible to make such an affair pass tolerable in the world ! The experiment, however shall be made, if I live out this summer : and you shall hear me say, as the old batchelor in the *Latin Menander*, with a little alteration,

† *Etsi hoc molestum,—atque alienum a vita
mea*

Videtur ; si vos tantopere istuc vultis, fiat.

* *Epod. 2. ver. 41.*

† *Terent. Adelp. Act. 5. Sc. 8. ver. 21.*

You

You see upon what foot of friendship I treat you. Judge whether it be necessary for you hereafter to say so much in order to convince me, what a friend you are : and for my own part, I have reduc'd you, I am confident, to the necessity of believing me, even the most insincere of all men, or the most faithfully

Your friend and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

I miss'd our great friend, when I was last to visit him at *St. James's*. I intend for *Windsor* very soon, if I am able.

LETTER XIV.

Dear Sir, Reygate in Surrey, Nov. 1. 1709.

IF I have had any real joy in my new state, it was then chiefly when I receiv'd yours, that wish'd it me. The two or three friends, whom, besides yourself, I pretend to call by that name, were so much parties to the affair, and so near me, that their part of congratulation

tion was in a manner anticipated. Happily you were at a good distance, and *point de vue*, to see right : for as little trust as I allow to the common friendship of the world, I am so presumptuous in this case of a near and intimate friend ; that instead of mistrusting their affection, I am rather afraid of its rendering them too partial. The interest and part, which I believe them ready to take in my concern, makes me wish 'em sometimes to see me (as they shou'd do themselves) from a distance, and in a less favourable light. So that although I have had *Godfathers* to my match, I have not been *confirm'd* till I had your approbation : and though (thank God) I have had faith to believe myself a good Christian, without Episcopal confirmation ; I should have thought myself an ill husband, and but half marry'd, if I had not receiv'd your concluding sentence and friendly blessing. In good earnest (for to you I am not asham'd to say it) I have for many years known no other pleasure, or interest, or satisfaction, in doing any thing ; but as I thought it right, and what became me to my friends and country. Not that I think,

I

I had the less pleasure for this reason ; but honesty will always be thought a melancholy thing to those, who go but half way into the reason of it ; and are honest by chance, or by force of nature, not by reason and conviction. Were I to talk of marriage, and forc'd to speak my mind plainly, and without the help of humour or raillery ; I shou'd doubtless offend the most part of sober marry'd people, and the ladies chiefly : for I shou'd in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happiness of my new state, and the merit of my wife in particular ; by saying, *that I verily thought myself as happy a man now as ever.* And is not that subject enough of joy ! What wou'd a man of sense wish more ? For my own part, if I find any sincere joy, it's because I promis'd myself no other, than the satisfaction of my friends ; who thought my family worth preserving, and myself worth nursing in an indifferent crazy state, to which a wife (if a real good one) is a great help. Such a one I have found : and if by her help or care, I can regain a tolerable share of health ; you may be sure it will be employ'd as you desire,
since

since my marriage itself was but a means to that end.

I have deferr'd three or four posts the answering yours, in expectation of reporting something to you from our great lord, to whom I had lately sent a letter ; he having before let me know, that he wou'd soon write to me upon something of moment : but as yet I have heard nothing. Only, as oft as he sees a friend of ours, he enquires after me with particular kindness. I am now at such a convenient distance from him, whether he be at *St. James's, Kensington, or Windsor* ; that, when the weather and wind serves for me, and I am tolerably well, I can in four or five hours driving be ready to attend him. Other attendance I am not, you know, capable of ; nor can I expect such a change of health, as that comes to : for sincerely it depends on that alone. As proudly as I have carry'd myself to other ministers, I cou'd as willingly pass a morning waiting at his levee, as any where else in the world.

When

When last I was with him at *Windsor*, you may be sure, I cou'd not omit speaking to him of yourself. The time I had with him was much interrupted by company. I know not how my interest, on such a foot as this, is like to grow : but I am certain it shall not want any cultivating, which an honest man, and in my circumstances, can possibly bestow upon it. If he has, or comes to have any good opinion of my capacity or knowledge, he must withal regard me in the choice I make of friends. And if it happens, as fortunately as it has done, that the chief friend I have, and the first whom I consider in publick affairs, was previously his own acquaintance and prov'd friend ; one wou'd think, he shou'd afterwards come to set a higher value upon him : and since he cannot have one always near him, who gladly wou'd be so ; he will oblige another, who is willing and able. And in reality, if at this time your coming up depends only on his wish (as you tell me) and the commands he may have for you ; I shall much wonder if he forgets the advantage,

I

or

or thinks he can dispense with your presence at such a time.

Your character of lord *Wharton* is very generous. I am glad to hear so well of him. If ever I expected any publick good, where virtue was wholly sunk, 'twas in his character: the most mysterious of any in my account, for this reason. But I have seen many proofs of this monstrous compound in him, of the very worst and best. A thousand kind thanks to you in my own and spouse's name, for your kind thoughts of seeing us. I add only my repeated service and good wishes, as

Your old and faithful friend,

And obliged humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

Two

Two L E T T E R S *from* Sir John
Cropley.

L E T T E R I.

Dear S I R,

MY lord *Shaftesbury* has desir'd me, to make you his excuse at this time ; and I am sure when I tell you what hinders him, you will be more pleas'd with a letter from me, than with any you have ever had from him. However, I know in a post or two he will do it himself ; and tell you he is come acquainted with a person that has every qualification, but equality of fortune, to make her a suitable match. I believe no man ever had a surer prospect of his own and family's happiness. I am only concern'd that so good a friend as you, are not here, to be that way a partaker with myself of this ; and my lord laments it himself as much. His health, which is our best article, is become so good this weather, that he has been able to make

his *Windsor* journey, without hurting himself : and the good impression your friend, my lord treasurer, made at first on my lord, daily increases. And I must own, since our friend has steer'd by our compass, and has taken this resolution at our request, and for his country's good, I wish it was as such told your friend my lord treasurer ; and the more, since I find my lord *Shaftesbury* is desirous of cultivating all ways the foot they now stand on. I wou'd * not have this pass for a light act, which in itself is so far from it. And I must say again, the choice is so good in all respects but that one, which my lord is very well able to dispense with, that even some *Whig* friends that don't love him (whatever they pretend) for so often putting them out of countenance, and arraigning their conduct, will not be able to wound him at all : tho', as a sincere friend to my lord *Shaftesbury*, I must own 'tis the only place I fear hurt from ; and so, am the more willing to put you in mind of this fence against it. If your occasions shou'd be so pressing, to get the better of your inclinations,

* *Meaning lord Shaftesbury's marriage.*

and keep you from doing this in the best way ; yet I hope, in your corresponding with my lord treasurer, you will remember this by the very first opportunity. My lord *Shaftesbury* is now at *Beachworth*. I shall be with him to-morrow : and Mr. *Micklethwayt*, who is now here, will have me add his humble respects. I can say, no man is with greater faithfulness, gratitude, and respect, than myself,

Dear S I R,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

*Red-Lyon Square,
16th of August.*

J. CROPLEY.

I won't pretend to give you news, but *Mick* says we have none. I beg my best respects and good wishes to your sons.

L E T T E R II.

*Dear S I R,**October the 6th.*

TH E marriage of our friend must be my excuse, for no sooner acknowledging so kind a letter, as I about that time receiv'd from you. But really, as private and as little to do as there was done in it, yet it gave me more business than I expected. You must long 'ere this know, that his lady is a daughter of Mr. *Ewer* of *Hertfordshire*, where that family have been seated ever since *Henry* the 7th's time. I gave you, I remember, a pretty full account of all, but her name, in my letter: so that I will only now say of it, that I believe no man ever had a wife, that his own life and happiness wou'd go on more the same, and undisturb'd in all parts of it, than he has. My lord, by going too soon unto his *Reygate* house, got a severe cold; but he's so perfectly recover'd, as to be much better than I have seen him in some years past. You wou'd now be as much rejoic'd, and indeed surpriz'd, to
see

see the good signs of health in him ; as you were concern'd, in seeing him last at *Chelsey*. The change is so great, that I don't doubt but the publick too, one way or other, will have good signs of it. My lord treasurer has most kindly writ to congratulate him ; and my lord has writ a letter in answer, with more personal honour and esteem, than I am sure he ever writ a minister before. By the way, now I am speaking of compliments, on this occasion I hear a certain person, at your lord * lieutenant's, gave a pretty odd account of the lady, or rather of my lord ; by saying, she was far from being young. Indeed if that had been wanting in any match, it wou'd have made it a sad affair. But she is but twenty. So I can't but fancy, some odd wrong person must have been nam'd for him : or is it not a feature of the old leaven, a breaking out of some old *Whiggism*, for past sins committed, that can never be forgiven ? And this was more strange, to make such a deliberate act of his, and that he was so difficult to be brought to, pass for a sudden rash one, when

* *At lord Wharton's.*

youth was also taken away. But some are so keen and envious of characters, as to be sometimes pretty preposterous in their schemes to defame by. My lord is now with me, and enjoins me to give you his most faithful respects and thanks, for all your kind concern and good wishes. I am with unfeign'd respect and sincerity,

Dear S I R,

Your most faithful, obedient,

humble servant,

J. CROPLEY.

A
L E T T E R

Sent from ITALY,

With the *Notion* of the *Judgment* of
HERCULES, &c.

T O

My Lord * * * *

Ante omnia Musae.

Virg. Georg. Lib. ii.

LETTER

TO

THE

TO

My Lord

Very Obedt. Servant

A
L E T T E R
T O

My Lord * * * *

Sent with the *Notion* of the *Historical Draught*
of the *Judgment of Hercules*.

My LORD,

THIS letter comes to your lordship,
accompany'd with a small writing in-
titled a NOTION : for such alone can that
piece deservedly be call'd, which aspires no
higher than to the forming of a *project*, and
that too in so vulgar a science as *painting*.
But whatever the subject be, if it can prove
any way entertaining to you, it will sufficiently
answer my design. And if possibly it may
have that good success, I shou'd have no or-
dinary opinion of my project ; since I know
how hard it wou'd be to give your lordship a
real

real entertainment by any thing which was not in some respect worthy and useful.

On this account I must, by way of prevention, inform your lordship, that after I had conceiv'd my NOTION such as you see it upon paper, I was not contented with this, but fell directly to work ; and by the hand of a master-painter, brought it into *practice*, and form'd a real *design*. This was not enough. I resolv'd afterwards to see what effect it wou'd have, when taken out of mere black-and-white, into colours : and thus a *sketch* was afterwards drawn. This pleas'd so well, that being encourag'd by the *virtuosi*, who are so eminent in this part of the world, I resolv'd at last to engage my painter in the great work. Immediately a cloth was bespoke of a suitable dimension, and the figures taken as big or bigger than the common life ; the subject being of the heroick kind, and requiring rather such figures as shou'd appear above ordinary human stature.

Thus

Thus my NOTION, as light as it may prove in the *treatise*, is become very substantial in the *workmanship*. The piece is still in hand ; and like to continue so for some time. Otherwise the first draught or design shou'd have accompany'd the treatise ; as the treatise does this letter. But the *design* having grown thus into a *sketch*, and the sketch afterwards into a *picture* ; I thought it fit your lordship shou'd either see the several pieces together, or be troubled only with that which was the best ; as undoubtedly the great one must prove, if the master I employ sinks not very much below himself in this performance.

Far surely shou'd I be, my lord, from conceiving any vanity or pride in amusements of such an inferior kind as these ; especially were they such as they may naturally at first sight appear. I pretend not here to apologize either for *them*, or for *my-self*. Your lordship however knows, I have naturally ambition enough to make me desirous of employing myself in business of a higher order : since it has
been

been my fortune in publick affairs to act often in concert with you, and in the same views, on the interest of EUROPE and mankind. There was a time, and that a very early one of my life, when I was not wanting to my country, in this respect. But after some years of hearty labour and pains in this kind of workmanship, an unhappy breach in my health drove me not only from the seat of business, but forc'd me to seek these foreign climates ; where, as mild as the *winters* generally are, I have with much ado liv'd out this *latter-one* ; and am now, as your lordship finds, employing myself in such easy studies as are most suitable to my state of health, and to the genius of the country where I am confin'd.

This in the mean time I can, with some assurance, say to your lordship in a kind of spirit of prophecy, from what I have observ'd of the rising genius of our nation, that if we live to see a peace any way answerable to that generous spirit with which this war was begun, and carry'd on, for our *own* liberty and
that

that of EUROPE ; the figure we are like to make abroad, and the increase of knowledge, industry and sense at home, will render *united* BRITAIN the principal seat of arts ; and by her politeness and advantages in this kind, will shew evidently, how much she owes to those counsels, which taught her to exert herself so resolutely in behalf of the *common cause*, and that of her own *liberty*, and happy *constitution*, necessarily included.

I can myself remember the time, when, in respect of MUSICK, our reigning taste was in many degrees inferior to the *French*. The long reign of luxury and pleasure under king CHARLES the second, and the foreign helps and study'd advantages given to *musick* in a following reign, cou'd not raise our genius the least in this respect. But when the spirit of the nation was grown more *free*, tho' engag'd at that time in the fiercest war, and with the most doubtful success, we no sooner began to turn ourselves towards *musick*, and inquire what ITALY in particular produc'd, than in an instant we outstrip'd our neighbours

bours the FRENCH, enter'd into a genius far beyond theirs, and rais'd ourselves an *ear*, and *judgment*, not inferior to the best now in the world.

In the same manner, as to PAINTING. Tho' we have as yet nothing of our own native growth in this kind worthy of being mentioned ; yet since the publick has of late begun to express a relish for ingravings, drawings, copyings, and for the original paintings of the chief *Italian* schools, (so contrary to the modern *French*) I doubt not that, in very few years, we shall make an equal progress in this other science. And when our humour turns us to cultivate these designing arts, our genius, I am persuaded, will naturally carry us over the slighter amusements, and lead us to that higher, more serious, and noble part of *imitation*, which relates to *history*, *human nature*, and *the chief degree or order of BEAUTY*; I mean that of the *rational* life, distinct from the merely *vegetable* and *sensible*, as in animals, or plants ; according to those several degrees or orders of painting which your lordship will find

find suggested in this extemporary *notion* I have sent you.

As for ARCHITECTURE, 'tis no wonder if so many noble designs of this kind have miscarry'd amongst us ; since the genius of our nation has hitherto been so little turn'd this way, that thro' several reigns we have patiently seen the noblest publick buildings perish (if I may say so) under the hand of one single court-architect ; who, if he had been able to profit by experience, wou'd long since, at our expence, have prov'd the greatest master in the world. But I question whether our patience is like to hold much longer. The devastation so long committed in this kind, has made us begin to grow rude and clamorous at the hearing of a new palace spoilt, or a new design committed to some rash or impotent pretender.

'Tis the good fate of our nation in this particular, that there remain yet two of the noblest subjects for architecture ; our prince's *palace*, and our *house of parliament*. For I

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can't

can't but fancy that when *Whitehall* is thought of, the neighbouring *lords* and *commons* will at the same time be plac'd in better chambers and apartments, than at present; were it only for majesty's sake, and as a magnificence becoming the person of the prince, who here appears in full solemnity. Not do I fear that when these new subjects are attempted, we shou'd miscarry as grossly as we have done in others before. Our *state*, in this respect, may prove perhaps more fortunate than our *church*, in having waited till a national taste was form'd, before these edifices were undertaken. But the zeal of the nation cou'd not, it seems, admit so long a delay in their ecclesiastical structures, particularly their *metropolitan*. And since a zeal of this sort has been newly kindled amongst us, 'tis like we shall see from afar the many spires arising in our great city, with such hasty and sudden growth, as may be the occasion perhaps that our immediate relish shall be hereafter censur'd; as retaining much of what artists call the *Gothick* kind.

Hardly,

Hardly, indeed, as the publick now stands, shou'd we bear to see a *Whitehall* treated like a *Hampton Court*, or, even a new cathedral like St. PAUL's. Almost every one now becomes concern'd, and interests himself in such publick structures. Even those pieces too are brought under the common censure, which, tho' rais'd by private men, are of such a grandure and magnificence, as to become national ornaments. The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country-house according as he fancies: but when a great man builds, he will find little quarter from the publick, if instead of a beautiful pile, he raises, at a vast expence, such a false and counterfeit piece of magnificence, as can be justly arraign'd for its deformity, by so many knowing men in art, and by the whole *people*, who, in such a conjecture, readily follow their opinion.

In reality *the people* are no small parties in this *cause*. Nothing moves successfully without 'em. There can be no PUBLICK, but

where they are included. And without a *publick voice*, knowingly guided and directed, there is nothing which can raise a true ambition in the artist; nothing which can exalt the genius of the workman, or make him emulous of after-fame, and of the approbation of his *country*, and of *posterity*. For with *these* he naturally, as a *freeman*, must take part: in *these* he has a passionate concern, and interest, rais'd in him by the same genius of *liberty*, the same *laws* and *government*, by which his property, and the rewards of his pains and industry are secur'd to him, and to his generation after him.

Every thing co-operates, in such a *state*, towards the improvement of *art* and *science*. And for the *designing arts* in particular, such as *architecture*, *painting*, and *statuary*, they are in a manner link'd together. The taste of one kind brings necessarily that of the others along with it. When the *free* spirit of a nation turns itself this way, judgments are form'd; criticks arise; the publick eye and ear improve; a right taste prevails, and in a manner

manner forces its way. Nothing is so improving, nothing so natural, so *con-genial* to the liberal arts, as that reigning liberty and high spirit of a people, which from the habit of judging in the highest matters for themselves, makes 'em freely judge of other subjects, and enter thorowly into the characters as well of *men* and *manners*, as of the *products* or *works* of men, in art and science. So much, my lord, do we owe to the excellence of our national constitution, and legal monarchy; happily fitted for us, and which alone cou'd hold together so mighty a people; all sharers (tho' at so far a distance from each other) in the government of *themselves*; and meeting under *one* head in one vast *metropolis*; whose enormous growth, however censurable in other respects, is actually a cause that workmanship and arts of so many kinds arise to such perfection.

What encouragements our higher powers may think fit to give these growing arts, I will not pretend to guess. This I know, that 'tis so much for their advantage and interest to

make themselves the chief parties in the cause, that I wish no court or ministry, besides a truly virtuous and wise one, may ever concern themselves in the affair. For shou'd they do so, they wou'd in reality do more harm than good ; since 'tis not the nature of a court (such as courts generally are) to improve, but rather corrupt *a taste*. And what is in the beginning set wrong by their example, is hardly ever afterwards recoverable in the genius of a nation.

Content therefore I am, my lord, that BRITAIN stands in this respect as she now does. Nor can one, methinks, with just reason regret her having hitherto ma'le no greater advancement in these affairs of art. As her *constitution* has grown, and been establish'd, she has in proportion fitted herself for other improvements. There has been no anticipation in the case. And in this surely she must be esteem'd wise, as well as happy ; that ere she attempted to raise herself any other taste or relish, she secur'd herself a right one in *government*. She has now the advantage

tage of beginning in other matters, on a new foot. She has her *models* yet to seek, her *scale* and *standard* to form, with deliberation and good choice. Able enough she is at present to shift for herself; however abandon'd or helpless she has been left by those whom it became to assist her. Hardly, indeed, cou'd she procure a single *academy* for the training of her youth in exercises. As good soldiers as we are, and as good horses as our climate affords, our princes, rather than expend their treasure this way, have suffer'd our youth to pass into a foreign nation, to learn to ride. As for other *academys*, such as those for painting, sculpture, or architecture, we have not so much as heard of the proposal; whilst the prince of our rival nation raises academys, breeds youth, and sends rewards and pensions into foreign countries, to advance the interest and credit of his own. Now if, notwithstanding the industry and pains of this foreign court, and the supine unconcernedness of our own, the national taste however rises, and already shews itself in many respects beyond that of our so highly-assisted neighbours;

what greater proof can there be of the superiority of genius in one of these nations above the other?

'Tis but this moment that I chance to read in an article of one of the gazettes from PARIS, that 'tis resolv'd at court to establish a new *academy* for political affairs. “ In it the
 “ present chief minister is to preside ; having
 “ under him six academists, *douez des talens*
 “ *necessaires*——no person to be receiv'd un-
 “ der the age of twenty-five. A thousand
 “ livres pension for each scholar——able
 “ masters to be appointed for teaching them
 “ the necessary sciences, and instructing them
 “ in the treaties of peace and alliances,
 “ which have been formerly made——the
 “ members to assemble three times a week
 “ ——*c'est de ce seminaire* (says the writer)
 “ *qu'on tirera les secretares d'ambassade ; qui*
 “ *par degrez pourront monter a de plus hauts*
 “ *emplois.*”

I must confess, my lord, as great an admirer as I am of these regular institutions,

I can't but look upon *an academy for ministers* as a very extraordinary establishment : especially in such a monarchy as FRANCE, and at such a conjuncture as the present. It looks as if the ministers of that court had discover'd lately some new methods of negociation, such as their predecessors RICHELIEU and MAZARINE never thought of ; or that, on the contrary, they have found themselves so declin'd, and at such a loss in the management of this present treaty, as to be forc'd to take their lesson from some of those ministers with whom they treat : a reproach, of which, no doubt, they must be highly sensible.

Bur 'tis not my design here, to entertain your lordship with any reflections on politicks, or the methods which the FRENCH may take to raise themselves *new* ministers, or *new* generals ; who may prove a better match for us than hitherto, whilst we held our *old*. I will only say to your lordship on this subject of *academys* ; that indeed I have less concern for the deficiency of such a one as this, than of any other which cou'd be thought of, for ENGLAND;

LAND ; and that as for a seminary, of *statesmen*, I doubt not but, without this extraordinary help, we shall be able, out of our *old* stock, and the common course of business, constantly to furnish a sufficient number of well-qualify'd persons to serve upon occasion, either at home, or in our foreign treaties ; as often as such persons accordingly qualify'd shall duly, honestly, and *bona fide* be requir'd to serve.

I return therefore to my *virtuoso* science ; which being my chief amusement in this place and circumstance, your lordship has by it a fresh instance that I can never employ my thoughts with satisfaction on any subject, without making you a party. For even this very NOTION had its rise chiefly from the conversation of a certain day, which I had the happiness to pass a few years since in the country with your lordship. 'Twas there you shew'd me some engravings, which had been sent you from ITALY. One in particular I well remember ; of which the subject was the very same with that of my written NOTION inclos'd.

clos'd. But by what hand it was done, or after what master, or how executed, I have quite forgot. It was the summer season, when you had recess from business. And I have accordingly calculated this *epistle* and *project* for the same recess and leisure. For by the time this can reach ENGLAND, the spring will be far advanc'd, and the national affairs in a manner over, with those who are not in *the immediate administration*.

Were *that* indeed your lordship's lot, at present ; I know not whether in regard to my country I shou'd dare throw such amusements as these in your way. Yet even in this case, I wou'd venture to say however, in defense of my project, and of the *cause of painting* ; that cou'd my young hero come to your lordship as well represented as he might have been, either by the hand of a MARAT or a JORDANO, (the masters who were in being, and in repute, when I first travel'd here in ITALY) the *picture* itself, whatever the *treatise* prov'd, wou'd have been worth notice, and might have become a present worthy of
our

our court, and prince's *palace*; especially were it so blest'd as to lodge within it a royal issue of her majesty's. Such a piece of furniture might well fit the gallery, or hall of exercises, where your young princes shou'd learn their usual lessons. And to see VIRTUE in this garb and action, might perhaps be no slight memorandum hereafter to a *royal youth*, who shou'd one day come to undergo this trial himself; on which his own happiness, as well as the fate of EUROPE and of the world, wou'd in so great a measure depend.

This, my lord, is making (as you see) the most I can of my *project*, and setting off my amusements with the best colour I am able; that I may be the more excusable in communicating them to your lordship, and expressing thus, with what zeal I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Naples, March 6,

most faithful

N. S. 1712.

humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTERS

OF THE

Earl of *SHAFTESBURY*,

Taken from the Account of his Life in the
General Dictionary.

*An extract of a letter to * Thomas Stringer Esq;*

London, Feb. 15th, 1695.

I Will not trouble you any farther now,
nor indeed have I time. We have got a
bill to be engrossed, which lays an incapacity
on the Elector (as the late passed act does on the
Elected) in case of corruption, meat, drink,
&c. and which obliges the knights of the
shire to have 500 l. a year, or the inheritance
of it, as freehold within the county, and a
burgess 200 l. a year somewhere at least in
England on the same terms. You cou'd, I

* A gentleman who had an office under the lord
chancellor Shaftesbury.

believe,

believe, scarcely imagine with yourself, who these are in the world, or who they are in the house, who oppose this, and all other such bills as this, might and main; and who they are, that are condemned of flying in the face of the government, as they call it, by being for such things as these are, and pressing such hard things on the prerogative or court. In short, you wou'd hardly believe, that your poor friend, that now writes to you, has sentence (and bitter sentence too) every day passing upon him, for going as you may be sure he goes and ever will go on such occasions as these; whatever party it be, that is in, or out at court, that is in possession of the places, and afraid of losing their daily bread by not being servile enough, or that are out of places, and think, by crossing the court, and siding with good and popular things against it, to get into those places of profit and management. No more. My kind service to Mrs. Stringer, and my service too to your son.

I am

your sincere friend, &c.

A. Ashley.

A

*A Letter to the Earl of OXFORD.**My Lord, Reygate, March 29, 1711.*

THE honour you have done me in many kind inquiries after my health, and the favour you have shewn me lately, in forwarding the only means I have left for my recovery, by trying the air of a warmer climate, obliges me e'er I leave England to return your lordship my most humble thanks and acknowledgments in this manner, since I am unable to do it in a better. I might perhaps, my lord, do injustice to myself, having had no opportunity of late years to pay my particular respects to you, if I should attempt any otherwise to compliment your lordship on the late honours you have received, than by appealing to the early acquaintance and strict correspondence I had once the honour to maintain with you and your family, for which I had been bred almost from my infancy to have the highest regard. Your lordship well knows my principles and behaviour from the first hour I engaged in any publick concern, and with
what

weat zeal I spent some years of my life in supporting your interest, which I thought of greater moment to the publick, than my own, or family's cou'd ever be. What the natural effects are of private friendship so founded, and what the consequence of different opinions intervening, your lordship, who is so good a judge of men and things, can better resolve with yourself, than I can possibly suggest. And being so knowing in friends, (of whom your lordship has acquir'd so many) you can recollect how these ties or obligations have been hitherto preserved towards you, and whose friendships, affections, and principles you may for the future best depend upon in all circumstances and variations publick and private. For my own part, I shall say only, that I very sincerely wish you all happiness, and can with no man living congratulate more heartily on what I account real honour and prosperity. Your conduct of the publick will be the just earnest and insurance of your greatness and power; and I shall then chiefly congratulate with your lordship on your merited honours and advancement, when

by the happy effects it appears evidently in the service of what cause, and for the advantage of what interest they were acquired and employed. Had I been to wish by what hands the publick should have been served, the honour of the first part (your lordship well knows) had fallen to you long since. If others, from whom I least hoped, have done greatly and as became them, I hope, if possible, you will still exceed all they have performed, and accomplish the great work so gloriously begun and carried on for the rescue of liberty, and the deliverance of Europe and mankind. And in this presumption I cannot but remain with the same zeal and sincerity as ever,

My Lord, &c.

A Letter to the Lord GODOLPHIN.

My Lord, Reygate, May 27, 1711.

BEING about to attempt a journey to Italy to try what a warmer climate (if I am able to reach it) may do towards the re-
L storing

storing me a little breath and life, it is impossible for me to stir hence, till I have acquitted myself of my respects the best I can to your lordship, to whom alone, had I but strength enough to make my compliments, and pay a day's attendance in town, I should think myself sufficiently happy in my weak state of health. I am indeed, my lord, little able to render services of any kind; nor do I pretend to offer myself in such a capacity to any one, except your lordship only. But could I flatter myself that e'er I parted hence, or while I passed through France, or stay'd in Italy, I could any where, in the least trifle, or in the highest concern, render any manner of service to your lordship, I should be proud of such a commission. Sure I am, in what relates to your honour and name (if that can receive ever any advantage from such an hand as mine) your publick as well as private merit will not pass unremembered into whatever region or climate I am transferred. No one has a more thorough knowledge in that kind than myself, nor no
 one

(163)

one there is, who on this account has a juster
right to profess himself, as I shall ever do,
with highest obligation and most constant
zeal,

My Lord,

your Lordship's most faithful and most

obedient humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

F I N I S.

(183)

one thing is, who on this account has a better
right to be called a knight, as I shall ever do
with highest obligation and most constant

Yours very truly

Wm. Pitt Rivers



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